



RACHEL MAIRS

From Khartoum to Jerusalem

THE DRAGOMAN SOLOMON NEGIMA
AND HIS CLIENTS (1885-1933)



From Khartoum to Jerusalem

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For Ted and Jack

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I will let my dedication speak for itself.

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Timeline

The letters were not pasted into the Testimonial Book in the order in which they were written, so I provide a chronological schema here.

1885

15 July: Capt. H. P. Leach (SN 6), Shepherd's Hotel, Cairo.

17 July: Capt. Edward J. J. Teale (SN 39), Cairo.

1888

21 May: Ellen E. Miller (SN 48), Beirut. The tour lasted two months.

1889

20 January: unknown German client (SN 26), Jerusalem. The trip lasted three days.

3 March: J. H. Montgomery and J. A. Riley (SN 31), Jerusalem.

14 March: George, John and George Hanson (SN 36), Jaffa.

8 April: William Stone (SN 55), Hotel Belle Vue, Beirut.

19 March: E. and M. Anderson (SN 51), Jerusalem. The trip was confined to Jerusalem.

25 April: Chr. von Heyden-Rynsch and Julien de Commynes de Marsilly (SN 14), E. Hardegg (Jerusalem Hotel), Jaffa.

1 May: Ninian Hill (SN 40), Jerusalem. The tour lasted two or three days, and was confined to Jerusalem.

15 May: John M. Crossman, Mr and Mrs Alexander Sturrock, Thomas M. A. Burke and Mr and Mrs J. S. Thompson (SN30), Jerusalem.

2 December: J. Ll. Thomas (SN 32 and SN 34), Port Said. Thomas travelled in November.

1890

28 April: J. D. Tremlett (SN 63), Beirut.

1891

11 February: Mr and Mrs S. J. Alexander (SN 52). The trip lasted around a week.

2 March: Anne Molson (SN 59), Hotel Feil, Jerusalem.

15 March: John C. Blisard (SN 17), Hotel Feil, Jerusalem. The trip lasted from 12 to 15 March.

19 March: John and Ella Sinclair (SN 33), Hotel Feil, Jerusalem.

7 April: Angie and Oliver H. P. Graham (SN 62), Hotel Feil, Jerusalem.

18 April: Lord Dalrymple (SN 37), Grand Hotel Dimitri, Damascus.

22 April: D. K. Tindall (SN 29), Jaffa.

29 April: A. A. Williams and E. H. Pierce (SN 35), New Hotel, Beirut.

29 April: John M. and Marguerite Barnett (SN 56), Beirut.

20 May: H. Milner Black (SN 50); travelled with Charles T. Walker (SN 43). The trip lasted ten days.

27 May, H. Milner Black (SN 53), Palestine Hotel, Jaffa.

18 November: G. H. Rouse and Joseph J. Doke (SN 54), Beirut.

1892

27 March: Henrich August von der Ohe (SN 12), Jerusalem.

27 March: H. Munk, P. A. Keller and George H. Whitford (SN 20), Hotel Jerusalem, Jerusalem.

29 March: Lemuel C. Barnes (SN 11), Hotel Jerusalem (Kamnitz), Jerusalem. The trip commenced on or around 22 March.

4 April: Charles T. Walker, from Augusta, Georgia (SN 43). Walker travelled with SN in May 1891.

18 April: George K. Scrimshaw and Gaze's party (SN 15), New Hotel, Beirut. The trip commenced on or around 18 March.

15 November: Charles L. Goodell, M. G. Kyle, R. W. Reed, L. C. Cox, Miss S. A. Emerson and Gaze's party (SN 23), Jerusalem.

16 November: Charles L. Goodell, M. G. Kyle, R. W. Reed, L. C. Cox, Miss S. A. Emerson and Gaze's party (SN 18), Howard's Hotel, Jerusalem.

2 December: E. R. Foley (SN 47), Jaffa. The trip lasted 'a number of weeks'.

1893

3 March: J. H. and M. Anderson, R. M., G. J. and Mrs Middleton, and G. Phillips (SN 58), Haifa. The trip lasted three weeks.

14 March: Duncan Fraser (SN 22), Hotel Jerusalem.

4 April: D. Ford Goddard, Thomas Simm, S. C. Adam and Gaze's party (SN 16), New Hotel, Beirut.

2 November: Mr and Mrs J. S. Thompson, from Illinois (SN 44).

1894

26 January: D. Ford Goddard, from Ipswich (SN 46). He proposed to visit Palestine in March.

6 February: Walter S. Nibbs (SN 57), Jerusalem. His total stay lasted five days.

9 March: Mr and Mrs Bendix Hallenstein, Miss Michaelis and Edward Hallenstein (SN 10), Damascus.

22 April: Julian K. and Winogen Smyth (SN 24), Beirut.

10 May: Alexander and Mrs H. E. Tison (SN 45), Jaffa. The trip lasted eleven days.

15 May: Alexander Tison (SN 28 and SN 49), Hotel Continental, Cairo.

13 June: J. S. and Clara Thompson write to SN from Lacon, Illinois (SN 4).

27 December: John A. Brown (SN 21), Hotel Jerusalem, Jerusalem.

1895

Spring, n.d.: Benjamin Stone (SN 61).

18 February: Anna and Mame Fargo, Bessie Tucker and Bessie Robinson (SN 1), Howard's Hotel, Jerusalem.

20 February: Thomas Driscoll (SN 42), Howard's Hotel, Jerusalem. The tour was confined to Jerusalem.

9 March: J. T. Woolrych Perowne and party (SN 13), Grand New Hotel, Jerusalem.

13 March: Rear-Admiral W. A. Kirkland (SN 7).

2 April: W. R. Birch, Mr and Mrs Lucas (SN 8), New Hotel, Beirut.

18 May: Jamesina Waller, Ida and Frederic Noel and Wathen Waller (SN 3), Karam Hotel, Jerusalem. The trip commenced on or around 18 March.

1896

n.d.: F. C. Fisher, H. W. Maclean and J. Hodgson of HMS *Howe* (SN 19), Jerusalem. The trip appears to have been confined to the city.

5 January: T. S. Penny, William G. Milsom (or Milson) and William Holland (SN 5), Howard's Hotel, Jerusalem.

21 February: Herman Haupt Jr (SN 27), Howard's Hotel, Jerusalem.

1898

21 February: William Decatur Parsons (SN 64), Beirut. Travelled with one of H. E. Clark's parties.

1902

15 April: Mrs and Miss Whittam (SN 65), Jaffa.

1903

29 March: Thomas Lane Devitt (SN 9), Jerusalem.

1905

3 April: [.]eila Brown (SN 60), postmarked Jerusalem.

1914

11 November: Edna Koehler to Olinda Negima (SN 66), Jaffa.

11 November: Ulysses W. Greene to SN and family (SN 67), Jaffa.

1915

5 March: Ulysses W. Greene to SN and family (SN 68), Winter Hill, Massachusetts.

18 August: Ulysses W. Greene to SN (SN 69), Winter Hill, Massachusetts.

30 November: Ulysses W. Greene to Olinda and SN (SN 70 and SN 71), Winter Hill, Massachusetts.

1918

18 March: Edna Koehler to Olinda (SN 72), Sargentville, Maine.

1933

August: letters of condolence to Aziz and Lulu on the death of SN (in Arabic).

Introduction

The testimonial book

In June 2014, I won an auction on eBay for a lot listed as ‘Certificate (testimonial) Book of Palestine Dragoman Solomon Negima’. (I was, in fact, the only bidder.) My curiosity had been piqued by the word ‘dragoman’, since at the time a colleague, Maya Muratov, and I were writing a book about dragomans – interpreters and tourist guides – in late nineteenth-century Egypt and the Middle East (Mairs and Muratov 2015). Dragomans are mentioned frequently in the travel literature of the period, but their professional and social lives are rarely explored in any depth. Solomon Negima and his book offered an opportunity to see things from a dragoman’s own perspective.

The book came from a seller in Oregon, a local book dealer who kindly answered my queries about its provenance. It was found at an estate sale, about fifteen years previously, in or near the town of Rogue River, purchased as part of a job lot with a box of other assorted books.¹ It had been listed online for two years without finding a buyer. I had hoped that Solomon Negima might make a good case study for our book on dragomans. He turned out to require a book of his own.

The testimonial book measures eighteen by twenty-five centimetres, in cardboard covers with a thin black leather overlay, and red spine and corner tips. It has fifty pages, onto which are pasted dozens of individual letters, and a few photographs. The majority are in English, with a few in German and one in Arabic. Inside the front cover, written over the first letter, are the words ‘Testimoniel Book of Dragman Solomon N. Negima’. At the top of the facing page is written ‘This is the Sertificat Book of Dragoman Solomon Negima’ (see Fig. 1). Accompanying the testimonial book was another packet of letters, in English and Arabic.

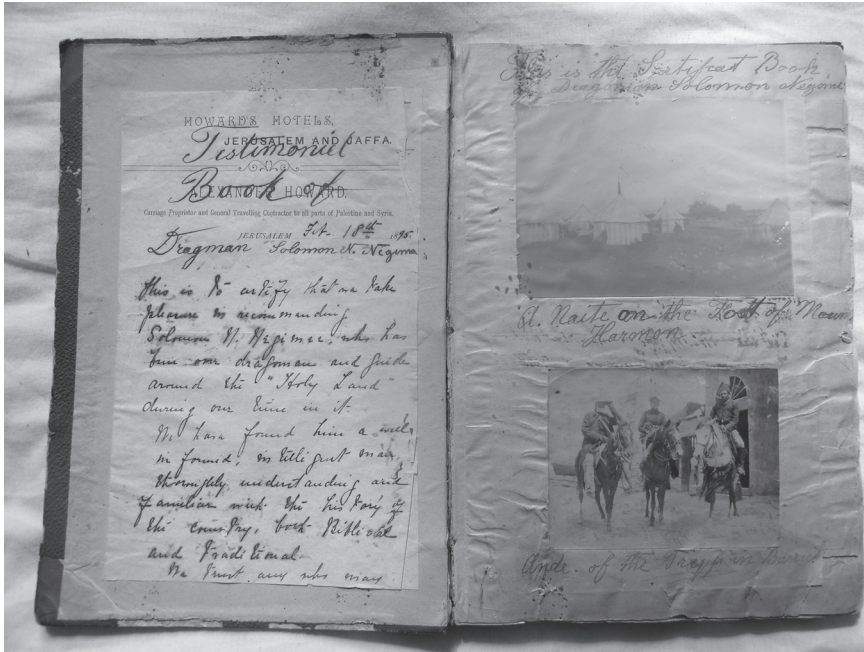


Figure 1 The Testimonial Book: opening pages.

The book contains testimonials and other correspondence belonging to Solomon N. (Nāṣīf) Negima, a dragoman based in Palestine, over a twenty-year period (1885–1905). Among the loose letters are two related groups of correspondence: letters between Solomon and his daughter Olinda, and American missionaries (1914–19); and letters of condolence to Solomon's son, Aziz, after his death (1933). These documents are transcribed, with notes, in Chapter 7. The vast majority of the clients can be identified in other sources: census records, private archives, ship passenger lists, and their own published accounts.

The contents of Solomon's book reflect a cosmopolitan world, one with hitherto unprecedented degrees of connectivity and mobility. In the late nineteenth century, the advent of package tourism, and new railway and steam ship routes, opened up overseas travel to a much broader section of European and American society than had previously had the opportunity. Travel was cheaper and less time-consuming, and, with tours such as those run by Thomas Cook, less daunting for the unadventurous. Solomon Negima's client profile

reflects the social changes of the period: the growth of a prosperous middle class; the increasing freedom afforded to women; the new position of African Americans after the abolition of slavery. Travel was not an interlude in the lives of Solomon's clients: they did not leave the concerns of the age behind them. Instead, travel was a means of cementing and flaunting their social or economic position – whether this was established or recently acquired. Travel was also connected to the mechanisms and construction of European and American imperialism: tourists visiting the Middle East or North Africa travelled alongside, and had social relationships with, colonial administrators, soldiers and other agents of empire.

Solomon Negima's clients included brewery owners and temperance campaigners; former slaves and former slave owners; old money and self-made men; famous photographers and their subjects; Nonconformists, Anglicans and Jews. They were of at least seven nationalities: British, American, German, French, Canadian, New Zealander and Australian. Some among these lived in South Africa, India and the Caribbean. There were lords, knights, two holders of the *Légion d'honneur*, admirals, generals and bishops. If we look beyond Solomon's clients to their social and familial networks, we find connections to Wilhelm II of Germany, Henry Morgan Stanley, Jane Austen and Mahatma Gandhi, all at just a few degrees of separation. The testimonial book reveals a diverse yet deeply interconnected social world – with a Palestinian dragoman as the linking figure.

Solomon Negima does not speak directly through his letters, but they do represent a collection curated by him, kept and chosen for public display in order to give a particular impression of his character and professional accomplishments. He used his testimonial book to attract or reassure potential clients. This can be seen from the fact that a couple of the letters are written on the back of previous ones: evidently there was no other paper to hand. If the book were all we had, it would still offer a remarkable and unique insight into the career of a dragoman. Solomon, however, made an impression on his clients beyond the sometimes trite, sometimes enthusiastic, recommendations they wrote at the end of their tours. Educated travellers in the late nineteenth century commonly published books of their travels; those who did not gave talks, sermons or conversational accounts, many of which are preserved in contemporary newspapers. Solomon Negima is mentioned, by name, in the

books of four of his clients, and several further times in newspaper reports. The paper trail continues after his retirement, when he lived and worked with members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS), in Jerusalem. He and his family are mentioned in their surviving letters. In 2000, Solomon's grandson, Farid Hourani, published *Olinda's Dream*, a family memoir with a heavily fictional component, in which further details are given of the lives of Solomon and his family. Hourani tells the reader directly that he has changed names and created episodes and characters in order to tell a wider story about the history of Palestine. Public records relating to family members who emigrated to the United States allow us, to some extent, to separate fact from fiction in Hourani's account. But it can never be taken at face value.

Solomon Negima lived many lives: as a soldier in the Sudan, dragoman in Palestine and Syria, and RLDS convert in Jerusalem. At a certain point in my research, I would not have been surprised had I discovered that he had been a cabaret singer in Libya, or worked as a gourmet chef in Addis Ababa. The following chapters aim to reflect the diversity both of Solomon's clientele and his own life experience. I begin with his time in Egypt and the Sudan in 1884–85, when he served as an interpreter with the British expedition to relieve General Gordon at Khartoum. Solomon's book contains two reference letters from officers with him on the expedition. Contemporary accounts enable us to flesh out something of the experience of Arab interpreters and transport corps members, even if we cannot find Solomon's individual story. In Chapter 3, I turn to Solomon's clients, beginning with those who travelled on organized group tours. Package tourism took off in the second half of the nineteenth century, and as well as the big operators, such as Thomas Cook, smaller firms carved out their own niches in the market. Chapter 4 considers a selection of Solomon's clients who did not travel with a group, but 'alone' – in their definition of the term. (Readers who prefer a more strictly chronological approach may like to read these chapters in reverse order.) One of Solomon's most interesting clients is the subject of Chapter 5: Rev. Charles T. Walker, an American minister who was born into slavery. Rev. Walker's story gives us the opportunity to examine a larger group of African-American travellers, and explore how their experiences differed from those of white travellers. Finally, in Chapter 6, I recount Solomon's later life, in retirement in Jerusalem, and the lives of his

children and grandchildren. A number of excellent stories and anecdotes about Solomon's clients have had to be omitted from the main body of the book, for reasons of space and narrative cohesion. These appear in the notes to the individual letters, in Chapter 7

Many of the writers whose works are discussed in the following chapters use terms to refer to people and places which we would no longer use today. In some cases, this simply reflects contemporary practice, such as when Rev. Charles T. Walker describes himself as 'Colored'. Some come about through a mixture of ignorance and innocence, compounded by the writer's adjustment to a new environment where the social hierarchies and cues with which they were familiar are reconfigured. This is the case with Ellen Miller (Chapter 4), for example, when she refers to 'Orientals' – largely, one suspects, because she cannot, or is not inclined to, tell different Middle Eastern people apart, or simply has no idea what to call them. Some contemporary writers used now-unacceptable terms with little ill or derogatory intent, but some certainly did. Count Gleichen, who was with the Nile Expedition on which Solomon Negima also served in 1885, freely uses 'Gippos' and 'Niggers' (Chapter 2).

The 'Palestine' and 'Syria' used in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century accounts are imprecise terms. The whole of the Levant was part of the Ottoman Empire, and the clients guided by Solomon Negima travelled through parts of what are now the nation states of Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. I maintain the contemporary terminology; readers will probably find cities, whose names have not, on the whole, changed, better reference points than regions.

In personal titles, I have also, to a great extent, maintained the forms used in my sources. Titles were usually given in books and newspapers. While a man may be referred to by his full name or surname alone, a woman is almost always 'Miss' or 'Mrs' – even, as in the case of Solomon's client Sara Emerson, when she held a Professorship and later a PhD (SN 18). I have thought long and hard about how to refer to Solomon N. Negima. As an Arab, and regarded by at least some of his clients as a 'servant', he is never referred to in any source as 'Mr Negima' or even 'Negima'. This sits in contrast to his position in the present work, where he is the most important figure. Nevertheless, because we have spent so much time together, I take the liberty of calling him Solomon.

Solomon Negima

The details of Solomon's life story can be pieced together from the chronology of the letters and the information given in his clients' accounts. A birth date in the 1860s would fit with Ellen Miller's description of him in 1888 as a 'young man', and with his military service in the mid-1880s (Miller 1891: 145; SN 48; Chapter 4). Joseph Llewellyn Thomas writes that Solomon told him that his father was from Nazareth and his mother from Moab, and that he himself had been born in Ramoth-Gilead (SN 32). Farid Hourani's character 'Saleem Nejm', in *Olinda's Dream*, who has many correspondences with Solomon Negima, was born in Madaba, to Lebanese parents named Isam and Alia Nejm. Solomon's own full name, as preserved in letters of condolence to his son, suggests in contrast that his father's name was Nāṣīf. Where 'Saleem' does come closer to what we know about Solomon is in his education at the Schneller School in Jerusalem, where he learnt German. Solomon spoke German, and several of his clients wrote recommendations for him in German. Ellen Miller recorded that he was 'a Syrian by birth, owning Arabic as his mother tongue, yet speaking German even better than he did English (for he had been brought up in a German Protestant school here), by creed a Roman Catholic' (Miller 1891: 162).

The school which Solomon Negima attended was most probably that of the Syrische Waisenhaus in Jerusalem, founded by Johann Ludwig Schneller in 1860 (Eisler 1997: 22–5; Ehmer 2008; Trimbур 2004; Löffler 2004). The school taught its students German, and trained them in trades and crafts as well as academic subjects. It was one of many institutions founded by German and Austrian missionaries and educationalists in Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth century (Sinno 1982).

We have no firm information on how Solomon spent his time between graduating from Schneller's school and enlisting with the British Army. In September 1884, he left Cairo in the service of the Transport and Commissariat Corps, for the Sudan. He returned to Cairo and was discharged the following July. After this, the testimonial letters allow us to trace his career. He worked at various points for local tourist agents, such as Rolla Floyd and Alexander Howard, and for larger companies, such as Thomas Cook. These details are often recorded in the letters. His first recorded tourist client was Ellen Miller,

in May 1888 (SN 48). The testimonial book contains letters for several clients a year until 1896, although we should assume that not all letters have been preserved. There were a handful of later clients whose letters survive: one each in 1898, 1902, 1903 and 1905.

Hourani's 'Saleem' spent a year living in England, in Bath, as an advisor on Palestine to a 'Lord Oxford', a fictional character. The episode serves to integrate British involvement in Palestine into the plot, and there is no compelling reason to think that Solomon Negima, on whom 'Saleem' is based, did likewise.

Solomon worked closely with a tourist operator named Rolla Floyd, an American long-resident in Palestine, throughout his career. Floyd died in 1911, and his widow, who had recently been baptised into the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, rented his house in Jerusalem to the church. Solomon and his family were also baptised, and lived at Floyd House as caretakers throughout the First World War. This story is told in Chapter 6. Solomon died in July 1933. Several of his children and grandchildren emigrated to the United States. I have not been able to trace how the testimonial book came from Jerusalem in the 1930s to Oregon in the 1990s, but a route via a family member, most likely his son Aziz, seems most probable.

Finding Solomon

Solomon Negima is mentioned by name, and appears as more than simply a walk-on character, in a numerically small, but relatively large, number of contemporary written sources, whether travel memoirs or newspaper articles. My criteria for a positive identification are strict: he must be mentioned (by anyone) by his full name (which, inconveniently for a researcher, appears in many variant spellings), or less directly (by one of his known clients), in the appropriate time and place. This means, for example, that if one of the signatories to a letter in the testimonial book writes an account of this specific trip in which a dragoman is mentioned, I take this dragoman to be Solomon.

I am conscious of my own obsession with finding Solomon Negima in everything I read. But this is not a work of fiction. Only where there is a significant weight of circumstantial evidence do I securely identify a dragoman as Solomon; this evidence is reviewed in each case. One case where the

evidence is not quite as compelling as I wanted it to be is that of a dragoman named Suleymân who befriended a young English traveller, still in his teens, named Marmaduke Pickthall in 1894. Pickthall had done well in the exams for the Levant Consular Service, but not well enough to secure a position. His family supported him in travelling East, initially to Egypt, apparently in the hope that acquiring Arabic would help his chances in future attempts. In Jaffa, Suleymân took Pickthall under his wing, and it was through him that he came to love Syria and Syrians so much that his horrified mother, hearing rumours that he had ‘gone native’, summoned him home. In later life, Pickthall converted to Islam, so it cannot be said that her fears were unfounded. The rest of his, and Suleymân’s, story is told in Chapter 4.

The reason why I so badly wanted Suleymân to be Solomon is not simply that Pickthall documents their friendship and travels in such detail, but that his presentation of Suleymân’s perspective on his own position and clientele is so close to what I imagine Solomon’s to have been:

It must have been a hardship for Suleymân – a man sensitive by nature and independent – to take his orders from some kinds of tourists and endure their rudeness. If left alone to manage the whole journey, he was – I have been told, and I can well believe it – the best guide in Syria, devoting all his energies to make the tour illuminating and enjoyable; if heckled or distrusted, he grew careless and eventually dangerous, intent to play off jokes on people whom he counted enemies. One Englishman, with a taste for management but little knowledge of the country, and no common sense, he cruelly obeyed in all things, with the natural result in loss of time and luggage, sickness and discomfort. That was his way of taking vengeance on the Heavy Ones.

‘And yet the man was happy, having had things his own way, even after the most horrid and disastrous journey ever made,’ he told me with a sigh. ‘Some men are asses.’

Pickthall 1918: 185

If Suleymân is a ‘Solomon type’, I see his client as a ‘William Stone type’ (SN 55), who liked his dragoman to know that he was ‘under orders.’ The reader may make up their own mind on the identifications. Out riding one afternoon, Pickthall ran into Suleymân delivering an unnecessarily detailed and gruesome account of Elijah’s slaughter of the prophets of Baal, to a meek audience of clergymen and their wives, who had evidently earned this by being difficult clients.

Another book presents a slightly different challenge. This is the memoir by Solomon's grandson, Farid Hourani (or Haurani), which I have already mentioned (Hourani 2000). In this case, I think the identification with Solomon Negima is secure: because of the name of the character 'Saleem Nejm', his German education, a career as a tourist guide, a daughter named Olinda and his descendants' emigration to the United States. On the other hand, there are independently-verifiable episodes in the 'real' Solomon Negima's life that are missing (army service in Sudan, association with the RLDS), and some which are almost certainly invented ('Saleem's' time in England). Unfortunately, Dr Hourani died in 2014, so I was unable to contact him about Solomon's book and ask for his assistance. The Preface to *Olinda's Dream* nevertheless offers a clear statement of authorial intent: 'I took certain liberties and made certain changes in the names, characters of the story, relocation in time and space, and even gender in order to include very important and true historical events and to make the flow of the story smoother and more interesting reading' (Hourani 2000: 11–12). As historical evidence, it should be approached in this spirit.

Writing Oriental lives

'O why,' cries one, 'is she alone thy care?
 She's fair, indeed, but other maids are fair:
 Negima's eyes with dazzling lustre shine,
 And her black tresses curl like Zebid's vine;
 On Hinda's brow Kushemon's lily blows,
 And on her cheek unfolds Nishapor's rose!

...

I praise Negima's lovely hair and eyes;
 Nor Hinda's lily, nor her rose despise:
 But Omman's pearls diffuse a brighter beam
 Than the gay pebbles of Kalafa's stream.

John Scott of Amwell, 1782, *Oriental Eclogues I. Zerad, or
 The Absent Lover: an Arabian Eclogue.*

The Arabic correspondence shows that Solomon's name was 'Najīm', but it is spelt in numerous different ways in his testimonials and in published sources. This reflects the inconsistency in European transcription of Arabic, but

sometimes also carelessness or mis-hearings. ‘Negima’ is the most commonly used, and, more importantly, the one he uses himself in the opening pages of the testimonial book, so it is the one I have employed throughout.

Aside from a Japanese anime series, the only other ‘Negima’ I have been able to find is a figure in the *Oriental Eclogues* of John Scott of Amwell (1731–83). The *Eclogues* are over-the-top Oriental romance, full of camels, jasmine, palm trees, harems and, it must be said, poetic stylings that have not stood the test of time. They were reprinted in anthologies throughout the nineteenth century. ‘Orientalist’ works of this ilk construct an essentialized image of a passive ‘Orient’, in a discourse which implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) contrasts with a ‘West’ which is rational and progressive – and worthy of political dominance (the literature on Orientalism is extensive; see, most fundamentally, Said 1978). Whether or not Solomon, or someone he knew, took the spelling of the name of an Oriental beauty in a popular poem and applied it to his name, this is the kind of thing that his clients will have read, and which will have influenced their own expectations and perceptions of their Eastern travels.

In contemporary travel accounts by European and American authors, the dragoman is a stock character: clever, domineering and avaricious. He is most often in the background, as part of an Orientalist scene sketched by travellers for their audiences. He is denied agency and individuality in a dual sense: as an Oriental, and as a guide and mediator, whose role is to facilitate travel and communication ‘transparently’ (Mairs and Muratov 2015). Even with the best will in the world, a dragoman’s role could end up being neglected. ‘I wish I could remember his name,’ wrote a tourist of one dragoman, ‘so I could recommend him’ (Mairs and Muratov 2015: 163). This makes travel accounts and other sources where we can explore the life of an individual dragoman all the more special.

The sources on Solomon Negima do not lend themselves to the writing of a ‘biography’. But there are other forms within the wider genre of ‘life writing’ than traditional biography. A source of inspiration for me has been Clare Anderson’s discussion of the life of Edwin Forbes, an American who served as an overseer in a British penal colony in the Andaman Islands in the 1860s (Anderson 2012: 157–86). Forbes kept a diary and copies of his personal letters, written out in a bound volume. This volume somehow came into the possession of an antiquarian bookseller in the United States, and was sold to

Duke University; Anderson was unable to trace its route any further in the archives. Edwin Forbes' book offers more parallels to Solomon Negima's than simply the accident of their preservation and discovery. Both were created by men whose personal social and professional networks connected them to a global world of travel, colonization and economic exchange. Edwin Forbes' and Solomon Negima's books do not just tell us about the individual who kept them. They also offer an entry point into the life stories of the people they wrote about and who wrote about them. They require the historian to reach beyond the conventional research methods of archival and library research, and turn to the kinds of online tools used in genealogical research.

The story of Solomon Negima will be a constant thread throughout the following chapters, but the story of his testimonial book is a much larger one. The present work is not a 'biography' of Solomon Negima; rather, it uses his life to explore the social history of Middle Eastern travel in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Tourism and pilgrimage

Solomon's clients came to Palestine for a variety of reasons, which can seldom be disentangled from one another. Visitors to the 'Holy Land' came in search of spiritual fulfilment, a healthier climate, an outdoors adventure – or simply because it was the next stop on their Mediterranean cruise. Almost all of his clients were Christian (a smaller number were Jewish), and Solomon's tours were structured around visits to the sites – or supposed sites – of events in the Bible. He gained a reputation for his detailed knowledge of scripture. By the time Solomon started working as a dragoman, in the 1880s, tourism was already a major local industry (Cohen-Hattab and Shoval 2015: 19–40). Thomas Cook personally conducted his first tour to the Holy Land in 1869, and the company soon developed a monopoly (Kark 2001) – contested, among others, by Solomon's associate Rolla Floyd. In 1898, when Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Palestine, it was Thomas Cook and Son that made the arrangements. Contemporary accounts, unfortunately, do not dwell on the logistics of the Kaiser's visit (Mirbach 1899), but Solomon Negima, as a German-speaker, will probably have worked with the (very large) group – 'Saleem Nejm' certainly

did. One contemporary account, indeed, mentions the Kaiser's visit to Bethany, 'begleitet nur von einem eingeborenen Dragoman, Namens Salomon, einem braven, alten Zöglinge des Syrischen Waisenhauses' ('accompanied only by a local Dragoman, named Salomon, an honest former pupil of the Syrische Waisenhaus' ([...] 1899: 290). By my own criteria, I cannot identify this securely as Solomon; but I like to think it is.

Travellers arrived in Palestine at the port of Jaffa, where few stayed for any length of time (the house of Simon the Tanner, the sole local Biblical attraction, was generally found disappointing). The next step in the trip was Jerusalem, which, before the railway opened in 1892, was a long ride with an overnight stop at Ramla. In Jerusalem, travellers stayed in one of the city's many hotels, which varied in quality from basic to luxurious – the variety and quality improving as the century progressed (Gibson et al. 2013). Many of Solomon's testimonial letters are written on the headed notepaper of these hotels. From Jerusalem, travellers could go on excursions: popular destinations were the river Jordan, Dead Sea, Nazareth and Bethlehem. Longer trips could be made, to Damascus and Beirut. Accommodation was usually in tents, which were far more luxurious than any available local accommodation. The tents were made of cotton appliquéd in colourful Islamic designs, made in Cairo by artisans in the Sharia al-Khayamiya near Bab Zuweilah – where similar pieces are still produced for tourists and collectors today.

How such tours were conducted is best explored through the accounts of tourists themselves. Both of the following relate to tours taken with Solomon's associate Rolla Floyd in the late 1880s. The first is an American, Rev. Chapman:

We had corresponded with Mr. Rolla Floyd, and made arrangements for him to conduct our party through Palestine, and soon we saw a boat coming with the stars and stripes flying from the mast, which we were told was Mr. Floyd's boat. It soon came alongside, and a stout, cheery-looking man with frowzy, blonde beard and hair sprung up the ladder. He looked for all the world like a Louisiana cotton-planter, and if I had met him in mid-Africa I would have known that he was an American. 'Is this Mr. Floyd?' I asked. 'It is' said he. 'Mr. Chapman? Where's your party? Show these men your luggage.' And in a few minutes we were going down the ladder.

I take great pleasure in recommending Mr. Floyd (whose address is Jaffa, Syria) to any parties contemplating a trip through the Holy Land. He is an

American, has been twenty-five years in Palestine, knows every foot of the country, is a walking concordance and cyclopedia, and is reasonable in his charges. His arrangements are much better than those of Thomas Cook & Son, and my experience with the latter firm is any thing but pleasant. If I were going to take another trip around the world, I would neither buy tickets from the Cooks nor have any thing to do with them. In several instances I found them very unreliable, and suffered very great annoyance and inconvenience through being compelled to put up with arrangements I had made with them. I advise all intending travelers to have nothing to do with them.

We made a contract with Mr. Floyd before we left Joppa, by the terms of which he furnishes every thing – horses, tents, food, servants, camp equipment, pack-mules, etc. – pays all fees and backshish, provides guides and necessary guards, and we pay him a stipulated sum – one pound (about five dollars) per day. We have no trouble or annoyance about any thing, and thus far it has been like a continual picnic. We ride from twenty to twenty-five miles per day, and about four or five o'clock reach our camping-place, which is carefully selected with reference to water, shade, etc. The tents are always up when we arrive, and a basin of water and a refreshing cup of tea are ready for us. Two or three occupy a tent, each tent being provided with a carpet, little iron bedsteads, camp-stools, wash-stand, etc. Within an hour after our arrival, dinner is announced in the large dining-tent, and the bill of fare is equal to that of a first-class hotel. Soup, fish, entrees, meats, vegetables, dessert, fruit, nuts, cheese, and coffee are usually on the menu, and the waiters are always well dressed and polite. After dinner we have singing and evening worship, after which we are usually tired enough to retire, and, when the guards or the wild pariah dogs of Syria do not annoy us too much, sleep soundly until Mr. Floyd's rising-bell has us up betimes to prepare for the day's march. Unless we are expeditious in our toilet, the tent is apt to come down on our heads, for the mules must be packed and hasten on ahead so that the encampment will be ready for us at the end of the day's journey. Loud cries of remonstrance and protest are always heard from the tents of the ladies when the muleteers begin to untie the ropes, and Mr. Floyd always runs with great indignation to their relief, telling the men in English (which they do not understand) to let those tents alone, while in the same breath he commands them in Arabic (which they do understand) to be as expeditious as possible and take the tents down immediately. Breakfast is soon announced, and by the time we are through the meal the mules are all packed and the caravan is ready to start. The baggage and camp equipments are sent

by the most direct route, and go on ahead, while we fall in line on horseback and leisurely proceed on our day's march. We have fifty horses and donkeys, besides a number of pack-mules, twenty-four servants and muleteers, ten or twelve tents, and a dragoman, guards, etc., so that when we are in camp we have quite a little village. At noon a halt is made in some pleasant grove, usually beside a brook or spring, carpets are spread, and we have a lunch of cold meats, sardines, pickles, cheese, oranges, lemons, etc. A rest of about two hours prepares us for the afternoon ride. The whole party are standing the ride remarkably well, and the ladies seem to enjoy it as much as any of us. Mr. Greenlee, of Chicago, has a little daughter in the company who is only ten years old, but she is mounted on a gentle, sure-footed donkey, and it is difficult to tell which is the happiest, Belle or the donkey.

Chapman 1888: 363–5 and 420–2

The next account comes from the reminiscences of Bertha Vester, who lived in Palestine as a child and knew the Floyds. She recounts the trip taken by the Buckingham family in 1886, to which I shall return in Chapter 3:

In the spring of 1886 Mrs. Buckingham and her younger daughter, Rose (who later married Mr. Gordon Selfridge, proprietor of the large department store in London), with an elder sister and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Chandler, visited Palestine. The party was personally conducted by our Jaffa friend Mr. Rolla Floyd, the tourist agent. There was no good hotel in Jerusalem, so they camped on the Mount of Olives. Such camps were magnificent, the equipment sumptuous, and the service excellent. They were constantly used by tourists. The tents were and still are made in Egypt. Strong sailcloth is used on the outside and this is lined with indigo blue every inch of which is covered with bright patchwork in arabesque patterns. The camp consisted of a bedroom tent for each person or couple, and every morning a tin bathtub would be dragged into the tent by the attendant. Hot and cold water stood beside the tub in big containers, usually Standard Oil tins. A large tent with double poles was used for dining and sitting room with comfortable camp chairs. The kitchen tent contained a stove consisting of an iron frame on legs with places for a charcoal fire. The camp cooks were excellent, and the waiters, well trained. In those days of leisurely travel, the camp provided the ideal way, and they were used by Thomas Cook and Son and all tourist contractors. These equipments were commandeered by the Turkish Army in 1914 and that ended camp life on the grand style. When travel started up again after the war good hotels had been built. Automobiles

took the place of carriages and horses and changed the tempo of travel. I went with my parents several times to meals in the beautiful camp of the Buckingham and Chandlers, and we saw them often during their visit to Jerusalem.

Among the many tourists whom Mr. Floyd conducted through the Holy Land was Mark Twain. The famous author rode a horse he named Baalbek, because he was such a 'magnificent ruin.' *Innocents Abroad* was written after this trip. Mr. Floyd used to amuse us by telling us anecdotes about Mark Twain. I remember one special story which, as far as I know, has never been published. The party was camping in Galilee, where in the spring of the year the wild flowers are plentiful and very beautiful. Herbs and plants grow to abnormal size but retain their luscious and tender qualities. The cook had gathered some wild greens and made a salad which was served with roast lamb for dinner. A member of the party asked the author why he was like Nebuchadnezzar, and expected the answer to be because he was eating the 'grass of the field.' Mark Twain promptly replied 'because I am eating with the brutes.'

Vester 1951, 150–1

This was the client experience of travel in Palestine in the late nineteenth century – or rather, the best case scenario. Not all were so enraptured and, like Marmaduke Pickthall's friend Suleymân ('Some men are asses'), dragomans and others in the tourist industry had to deal with a wide range of temperaments and types of conduct from the foreigners they worked with. The following chapters will offer a variety of perspectives on travel in the Middle East: from clients, to workers in the tourist industry like Solomon, to those whose experience of travel was limited to the accounts of others.

The Sudan, 1885

Shepherd's Hotel, Cairo 15.7.85

Solomon Negimah has served with the 9th Transport Com up the Nile during the last ten months. He was engaged as Headman but has really acted as Interpreter all through – he speaks English well and can read and write Arabic. I have found him an intelligent well informed man and strictly honest – rather a rare quality among interpreters.

H. P. Leach Capt RE.

SN 6; see Fig. 2

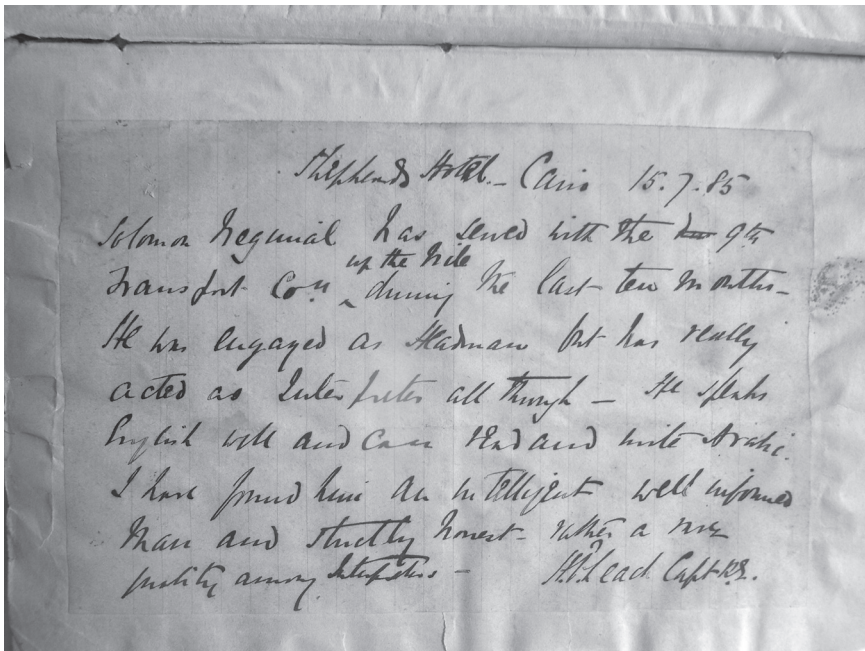


Figure 2 SN 6: Letter from Captain H. P. Leach.

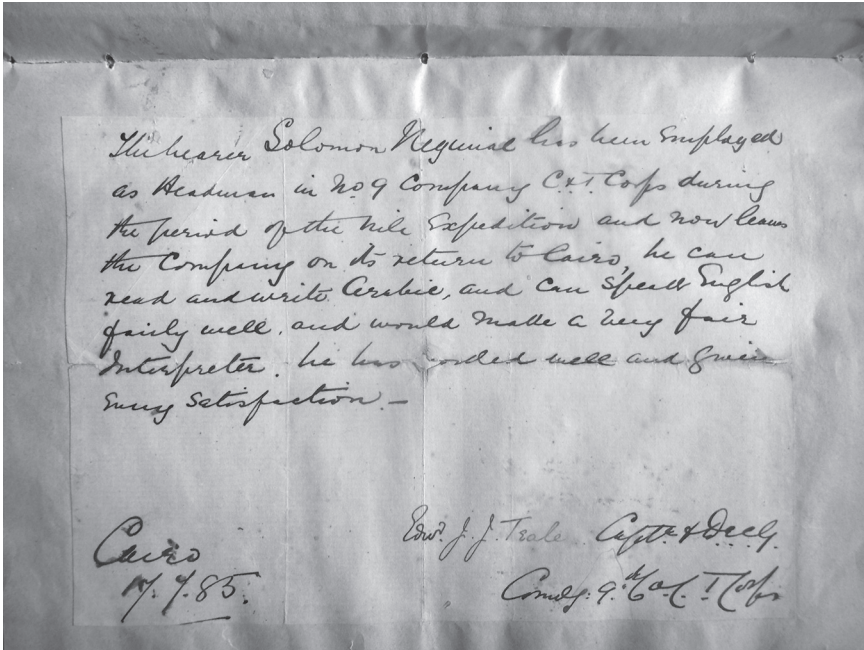


Figure 3 SN 39: Letter from Captain Edward J. J. Teale.

The bearer Solomon Negimae has been employed as Headman in No. 9 Company C & T Corps during the period of the Nile Expedition and now leaves the Company on its return to Cairo, he can read and write Arabic, and can speak English fairly well, and would make a very fair interpreter. He has [work?]ed well and given every satisfaction.

Edw. J. J. Teale Capt. & DACG

Comdg 9th Co. C T Corps

Cairo 17.7.85

SN 39; see Fig. 3

Shall We Annex Egypt?

In October 1881 – more than seven years before he would meet Solomon Negima – William Stone was at Shepherd's Hotel in Cairo, preparing for a journey up the Nile (Stone 1884: 21; on Shepherd's, see Humphreys 2011:

75–100). Unlike most travellers, who went no further than the temples of Luxor or Philae, Stone planned to venture beyond Khartoum, where the river divided into the White and Blue Niles. From his base at Shepherd's, he busied himself renting a dahabiyya and getting in provisions, hired a Nubian dragoman named Younes Aly (whose name he never mentions again in his account), and acquired the necessary letters of introduction to local grandees, such as Muhammad Ra'uf Pasha, the Governor of Khartoum.

For the next six months, as he travelled through Egypt, Nubia and the Sudan, Stone observed the land and its people with one question uppermost in his mind. This, as he put it in the title of the pamphlet he published on his return to England, was 'Shall We Annex Egypt?' The answer Stone arrived at was 'yes'. Formal annexation of Egypt would protect British interests in India by gaining control over the Suez Canal. Egypt's agricultural potential would make it a profitable acquisition. Stone was also of the view that the Egyptian fellahin would be better off under the British than under the unpopular Turks.

Stone's pamphlet contributed to fierce contemporary debate about British involvement in the Nile valley. In early 1880, Charles Gordon (nominally under the authority of the Khedive of Egypt) had resigned as Governor-General of the Sudan. While Stone was there in 1882, the new Governor, Muhammad Ra'uf Pasha, was dismissed for his failure to stem an uprising under the leadership of Muhammad Ahmad, who had declared himself Mahdi, a prophesied Muslim messiah, the previous year (on both, see Hill 1951's invaluable biographical dictionary of the Sudan). At El Obeid, in Kordofan, Stone, in old age, recalled meeting an Egyptian force going against the Mahdi, which was later destroyed (Baerlein 1951: 128). (He claimed that only an attack of dysentery prevented him from joining the expedition.) Even a year later, Stone's journey would have been impossible. By late 1883 and early 1884, the Mahdi's growing army of *anṣār* ('followers' – the British referred to them as 'dervishes') had routed Egyptian-British forces at El Obeid, and near Suakin on the Red Sea coast, and had control of much of the country. The decision was taken by the British to abandon the Sudan, and General Gordon was again despatched to Khartoum to oversee the evacuation of Egyptian and European troops and civilians. He arrived in February 1884; within a month the city was under siege. Against numerous objections from soldiers and politicians, but

under immense public pressure, the British government decided in August to despatch an expedition up the Nile to relieve Gordon and Khartoum.

Meanwhile, in Jaffa, Rolla Floyd had been following the rising tensions in Egypt with interest – not least because he knew Gordon himself. As the British suppressed a nationalist uprising under Arabi Pasha, in 1882, he wrote to family in the United States about popular feeling in Palestine, and added, ‘if I was a single man [I] would go to Egypt and be a Dragoman for some English general’ (Parsons 1981: 65). There was one specific General he may have had in mind: General Gordon. Gordon visited Palestine in 1882–3, between stints in the Sudan, and was guided by Floyd (Obenzinger 1999: 185). We do not know whether Solomon Negima was already working with Floyd at this time. In 1879, Floyd had written that he was teaching ‘several young men to conduct parties through Palestine’ (Parsons 1981, 45), of whom Solomon may perhaps have been one. By 1884 it was clear, at any rate, to many in Palestine that a war in the Sudan was inevitable, and that there were opportunities for those willing and able to go to Egypt. Equipping the British expedition was a huge logistical challenge: the force needed horses and camels, provisions and equipment, and men who could manage these.

Solomon could have become involved in any one of several ways. Horses from England could not stand desert conditions,¹ so the expeditionary force requisitioned horses which the Egyptian government had bought in Syria for their own cavalry (Snook 2013: 143). These Syrian grey ponies gained a reputation for their stamina. Major-General Sir John Moore, who as Director of the Army Veterinary Service in France during the First World War had seen horses used under the most extreme conditions, had the highest opinion of them:

The Syrian horse or pony . . . has performed such marvellous work in Cavalry in Egypt in days gone by. He has a wonderful constitution and is admirably adapted to warfare in Eastern climes. An example of endurance under trying conditions of paucity of rations and lack of water is recorded in the annals of the Nile Expedition of 1884-1885, for the Relief of Khartoum, in which Arab stallions, average height 14 hands, average age 8 to 9 years, purchased by the Egyptian Government in Syria and Lower Egypt for Egyptian Cavalry and delivered over to the 19th Hussars, performed one of the most remarkable feats possible to relate.

Moore 1921: 129

Syrian ponies carried the 19th Hussars across the Bayuda Desert and at Abu Klea, where, as we shall see, Solomon Negima was also present. Could it be that he came from Syria to Egypt to manage Syrian horses?

There are other possibilities. The British Army was not the only force to have conquered the Nile. In the early 1880s, Egypt was already open to package tourism, and the Khedive had granted Thomas Cook and Son exclusive control of passenger steamers on the Nile (Pudney 1953: 193–213). There was only one way a sizeable British force could be conducted south into the Sudan, and that was on Cook's steamers. Thomas Cook and Son were therefore awarded the contract to transport the Gordon Relief Expedition as far as Saras, above the Second Cataract (Sandes 1937: 90–1). The company's operations in Egypt were under the direction of John Mason Cook, son of Thomas, who travelled along the route of the expedition to oversee arrangements personally. (He later claimed to have met the Mahdi.) In all, Cook's ended up conveying 11,000 English troops, 7,000 Egyptian troops, 130,000 tons of stores and war material and 800 whale boats – the latter used to carry troops on up the Nile. General Wolseley, commander of the expedition, recorded a visit from John Mason Cook, and his son Albert, in his diary for Wednesday 3 December 1884, at Dongola: 'Mr. Cook & Son arrived in a small diabeeyah: he tells me his bill against Govt. will not amount to more than about £120,000 – I think this must be far under the amount. . . . The Cook family dined with me' (Wolseley 1967: 79–80). Both Rolla Floyd and Solomon Negima himself worked for Cook's in Palestine at various points in their careers. It is possible that Solomon was recruited by them for their new contract in Egypt.

Even if Solomon arrived in Cairo without already having a position in British service, he cannot have found it difficult to secure one when he got there. Floyd was right in his estimation that British imperial meddling in Egypt and the Sudan brought good opportunities for men who could speak English and handle logistics. Indeed, there was high demand for the services of men such as Solomon, who, as his testimonial letters confirm, already spoke sufficient English to act as an interpreter. By the early autumn of 1884, when the main expedition departed Cairo, more or less every competent man had been snapped up. Solomon himself left for the Sudan around mid-September, as may be seen from Captain Leach's account of his ten months' service (SN 6).

Alexander MacDonald of the *Western Morning News*, arriving in Cairo in late October 1884, was almost out of luck. Like William Stone, he based himself at Shepherd's while he made his travel preparations; a few weeks earlier, MacDonald may even have had trouble getting a room there. 'The demand for interpreters by the military authorities,' he reported, 'was so urgent, and the prices they offered were so high, as not only to drain but also to "bull" the market. Every Arab who had ever been employed as a servant, and had a smattering of English, demanded fifteen pounds a month, whereas in other times a third of the amount would perhaps be all he could get' (MacDonald 1887: 28). MacDonald's account of his negotiations with dragomans is worth quoting at length, for the insight it provides into the Cairo labour market at that time.

First an Arab swell came along, highly recommended by himself, of course, and specially on the ground of having been Mr. O'Kelly's servant. As he would not promise to go further with me than Dongola, I had to decline his offer. Then another turned up bearing the name of Hassan, a cognomen as common among Arabs as Smith is amongst us. Oh, he could cook and would go anywhere with me. The recommendation upon which he relied most was his having been with Mr. Dixon when he shipped Cleopatra's Needle from Alexandria. I demurred to qualifications based upon such grounds, as shipping this celebrated obelisk and going after Gordon to Khartoum were essentially different, and so he eventually found out. Nevertheless, he consented to go with me, and an appointment was made for next day to sign the usual contract. When he came I traced disaster in his face, for the brightness of his eyes had gone. There had been trouble at home; his wife and friends protested against his risking his life in the Soudan. In fact the Cairo Arabs were deeply imbued at the time with the notion that the Mahdi was sure to win, and that our expedition would share the fate of Hicks Pasha's army. So I had to give this Hassan up, and soon a namesake came along, but this time a Syrian Arab. I resolved to begin right with him at once, and my first question was: 'Are you afraid of being shot?' He declared he was not, but, as events showed, he was not able to maintain the courage of this opinion about himself. For two days we negotiated. At 5 P.M. on the second day he called and said that his wife also would not hear of his going to the Soudan.

I was in despair. On the morrow I had either to leave for Assiout or lose four more days waiting for the next steamer. So I decided to go on alone, trusting that somewhere up the river I might be able to pick up suitable attendants.

Half an hour later an elderly man wearing a fez accosted me in the street and offered his services for the expedition, producing excellent testimonials from several of our consuls. He was a British subject, and a Christian, and assured me that he was not afraid of being shot, for he had been through the Crimean war and the Abyssinian expedition. These last qualifications rather told against him so far as age went, yet he looked hale and hearty, and from a remark he dropped, it occurred to me that he thought he was quite as able to stand the fatigues of the expedition as I was, so far as age went. However I engaged him, and after paying the usual half-month's salary in advance, as a precautionary measure I made him promise to sleep that night at Shepherd's. He turned up after dinner, but begged off until next morning, in order to complete his wardrobe for the trip, and said with amusing earnestness: 'Tank God, sir, that you got me to take care of you and not the – Arabs!' I believe the old fellow meant well, but as it turned out I was more bothered than enough taking care of him. My experience on this and on other journeys in the East agrees with that of Gordon, namely, 'that in these lands you are yourself your only reliable servant'.

MacDonald 1887: 28–30

In MacDonald's experience, the balance of power between dragoman and client has been reconfigured. Dragomans give the usual references from other travellers, with military service under British command holding especial cachet, and Christianity a bonus. But clients are not hard to come by, and popular opinion in Cairo predicts British defeat. Egyptian Hassan and Syrian Hassan both withdraw because of (wise) objections from their families. MacDonald is left with an elderly man (Michael, probably a Greek or Syrian), who has no fear of bullets and a low opinion of Arabs (the dash in MacDonald's account stands in place of an expletive). Solomon Negima was therefore among many non-Egyptians hired by the British forces and their camp followers in the autumn of 1884. As a young man, a Christian and an English-speaker, evidently willing to undergo personal risk, it was no wonder that Solomon had already left Cairo by the time war correspondents such as MacDonald were scouting for attendants.

Comrades on the Nile

The story of the Nile Expedition has been told many times, in great detail, and I do not intend to repeat it.² Just as every Victorian traveller in the Orient

seems to have written a book of their 'adventures' and reflections, large numbers of British survivors of the failed attempt to rescue Gordon wrote books of their experiences. These bear stirring names such as *The Campaign of the Cataracts* (Butler 1887), *With the Camel Corps Up the Nile* (Gleichen 1888) and *Too Late for Gordon and Khartoum* (MacDonald 1887). Khartoum fell and Gordon was killed on 26 January 1885; an advance party from the relief expedition arrived two days later. The British retreated, and by July 1885 Solomon was back in Cairo, and his commanding officers comfortably ensconced once again at Shepherd's. What was essentially a British defeat was blamed by many on government hesitation; British victories against Mahdist forces before Khartoum were celebrated; and many rousing tales of peril and bravery were told to rapt audiences – among them, Solomon's later clients. Authors of schoolboy adventures spun ripping yarns about *The Dash for Khartoum* (Henty 1892) and *Comrades on the Nile* (Finbarr 1923).

The specific information we have on Solomon's role and experiences in the campaign is as follows. He spent ten months with No. 9 Company of the Commissariat and Transport Corps, from around mid-September 1884 to mid-July 1885. 'He was engaged as Headman but has really acted as Interpreter all through' (SN 6). Solomon was part of the Desert Column which left the Nile at Korti, below the Fourth Cataract, to cut 176 miles across the Bayuda Desert and rejoin it at Metemmeh, thus bypassing a large bend in the river. He later told clients that he had been present at the Battles of Abu Klea and Metemmeh, and showed them his medals (SN 13, 1895; Thomas 1890: 87). Sometimes he wore them (Miller 1891: 162). This is confirmed in an official British Army memorandum of 23 October 1885, where 'Solomon Negimae' is listed on the 'Roll of Headmen entitled to the War medal, clasp or clasps, for the operations up the river Nile and in the vicinity of Suakin' (see Fig. 4).³ Two officers of the Commissariat and Transport Corps signed in conformation.⁴

Solomon is recorded as entitled to honours for the 'Nile 1884–85' and 'Abu Klea'. He was also entitled to the Khedive's Star, as were all holders of British medals for the Egyptian and Sudanese campaigns, but either never received it, or subsequently lost it. He tried unsuccessfully to have his client Alexander Tison acquire it for him in Cairo (SN 28, 1894). In later years, Solomon impressed tourists by recounting his experiences on the Nile; some

Original in War Office 10/11/1888

No. 9 Coy Comm. & Transport Corps

Roll of Headmen entitled to the War medal, 6 loop or 6 loops, for the operations up the River Nile and in the vicinity of Suakin

COMMISSARY GENERAL,
HEAD QUARTERS,
17 NOV 1888
10/11/1888

Cairo 23 October 1888

Rank & Name	Whether in possession of Egyptian Medal or Suakin (1882) Medal	Whether at Suakin between 26 th March 1885 & 31 st May 1885	Whether entitled to Medal			Whether serving with Regiment or Depot, Road, Discharged, Re-engaged, &c	Remarks
			1885	1886	1887		
Headman Ibrahim Johnson	Yes. 1884		Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged	
" John on Egyptian			Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged	29.12.1885
" Donald Ramsay			Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged on return to depot	X
" Philip Ashurst			Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged to Alexandria	X
" George Smith			Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged to Malta	X
" Giovanni Novelli			Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged	X
" Giovanni Novelli			Yes	Yes	Yes	Dragoman Port Said Khartoum	X
" Ahmed Hafeez			Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged	X
" Demetrius Koutoukidis			Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged	X
" Ali Mohamed			Yes	Yes	Yes	Discharged	X

I certify that the individuals named in this roll were actually present on the occasions specified and have fulfilled the conditions entitling them to the decoration claimed.

For Prov. Secy of
Comm. and Trans.
No. 9 Coy 237 Corps

29.12.1885
10/11/1888

Figure 4 Roll of Headmen of No. 9 Company Comm. and Transport Corps entitled to medals from the Sudan campaign.

of these, in turn, recorded his stories in their published accounts of their travels. Two of his earliest clients, in 1888 and 1889, only three or four years after the expedition, were Ellen E. Miller (SN 48) and Rev. Joseph Llewellyn Thomas (SN 32). Miss Miller, whose story is recounted in Chapter 4, thought Solomon 'a many-sided individual', who had already led a varied life. He cultivated a military image: he was 'by trade something of a soldier, – having served for a while in the Soudan cavalry under one of our generals . . . He seemed proud, one day, to tell me, on our return from an excursion, that he had been taken for a Turkish soldier appointed as my escort. His riding top-boots, short military and medal-bedecked jacket, and red fez may have encouraged this idea' (Miller 1891: 162). Rev. Thomas was more interested in Solomon's army tales – or perhaps Solomon had not gone into such depth with a female client:

I think I have been exceedingly fortunate in my dragoman. When he is not pointing out to me some place mentioned in Scripture, and telling me all he knows about it – which is usually a good deal – he entertains me with the recital of his experiences in the Nile Expedition, which are even more stirring than those of Major Mackie. He served in connection with the transport department in the Soudan, and was present at Abu Klea and Metemmeh. He showed me his medals, not that I doubted his word, as

dragomans are a very truthful body of men; and I also know from other sources that Suleiman was really present at those battles, and that he was an eye-witness of the death of Colonel Burnaby. So I consider myself fortunate in having secured the services of such an interesting dragoman.

Thomas 1890: 87

In 1894, the Waller-Noel party found that Solomon had ‘a most fortunate knack of managing the Police and Turkish officials thusly saving those whom he serves much fuss + annoyance’ (see Fig. 5).

During the war in the Soudan of 1884 he was the only interpreter who accompanied the British army till the campaign was completed. Here doubtless he gained the experience which he shows in dealing with the natives of this country, and in his manner of so comptrolling a camp that the muleteers – servants etc. work willingly for him.

SN 3

What are we to make of Solomon’s claim (as mediated by his clients)? Captains Leach and Teale certainly confirm that he acted as interpreter, even though he had not officially been hired as one. First-hand accounts of the expedition, as we shall see, tend not to give much information on anyone other than British combatants – and tell us far more about officers than other ranks. The phrase ‘...till the campaign was completed’ is ambiguous. Does this mean to the end of the Desert Column’s march, the closest point the land force reached to Khartoum? Or does it mean that he sailed with the steamers who arrived just too late to relieve Gordon? Alternatively, it might mean that Solomon remained with the substantial British force that garrisoned points on the Nile after the main force had withdrawn.

The role of military interpreter is potentially a highly vulnerable one, and one where an interpreter’s own agency and role in facilitating cultural as well as ‘purely’ linguistic communication may not receive due recognition – as conflicts from antiquity to the present day demonstrate (Baker and Tobia 2012; Mairs 2011). While it may not be possible to uncover Solomon Negima’s individual story, careful dissection of contemporary accounts offers some broad insight into the experience of an interpreter in the Nile Expedition. The surface narrative gives us one story: a British, officer-class perspective on the challenges of the Sudan campaign. Reading between the lines, we find a more nuanced picture, and even information on the careers of individual interpreters.

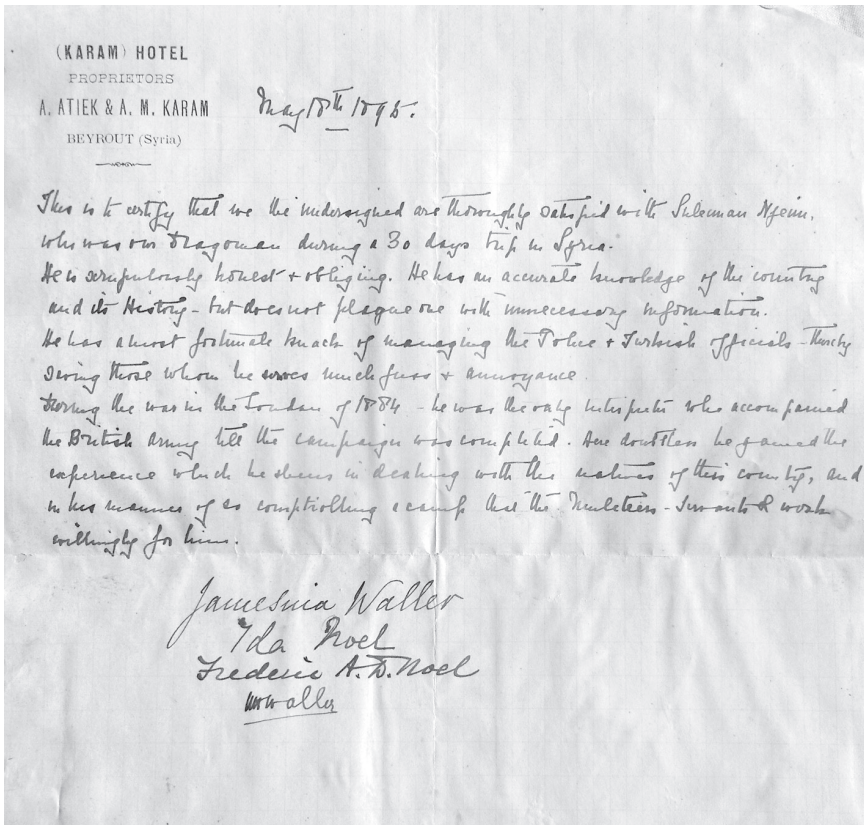


Figure 5 SN 3: Letter from the Waller-Noel party.

The Desert Column

Thomas Cook and Son took the expedition as far as Saras. From there, it proceeded in specially-made 'whale boats'. These were the idea of General Wolseley, who had been impressed with the practicality and efficiency of similar boats in an earlier campaign, in Canada. Eccentric though the plan was, it worked fairly well. Wolseley even recruited a corps of Canadian 'voyageurs' to steer the boats through the Nile cataracts. Although these were supposed to be experienced Mohawk boatmen, like those Wolseley had previously worked with, many were white Canadians, and some had little experience in managing boats (Benn 2009). This made for an interesting mix among the crews. William Butler, an officer from Irish gentry stock whose account is considered

below, travelled in a boat with two Canadian voyageurs, six West African 'Kroomen' (also river boat specialists), a Syrian interpreter⁵ and an English servant – the British Empire, with all its hierarchies of race and class, in microcosm. The Mohawks at least, as acknowledged technical experts, received good enough pay to convince them to sign up for the expedition, although few of them were willing to renew their contracts after six months' service in the Sudan.

Between the third and fourth cataracts, the Nile valley turns north-east, away from Khartoum, before finally looping back to its roughly north-south course. Since time was of the essence, Wolseley split the force into two sections. The River Column was to continue upstream along the Nile. The Desert Column, to which Solomon Negima was attached, was to leave the Nile at Korti and trek with camels and ponies 176 miles across the Bayuda Desert to Metemmeh, cutting off the bend in the river. The soldiers of the Desert Column would then rendezvous with steamers sent by Gordon, and proceed to Khartoum.

The expedition as a whole faced great logistical challenges, and the Desert Column especially so. The force that left Korti on 8 January 1885, under the command of Brigadier-General Sir Herbert Stewart, consisted of 120 officers, 1,900 men and 300 'natives, interpreters, camel-drivers &c.' (Wilson 1886: xxiii–xxiv) – among them, Solomon Negima. The Commissariat, under Brigadier-General Sir Charles B. Nugent of the Royal Engineers, 'consisted of about 800 camels, carrying stores of all sorts, and driven by Aden boys, negroes, and natives of all sorts, clothed in a red turban, a blue jersey, a haversack, and a brass ticket – nothing more' (Gleichen 1888: 107). Captain Leach, who wrote one of Solomon's letters of reference, was also with the Royal Engineers (Sandes 1937: 97), who all through the march had to start earlier and work longer than everyone else, loading camels and building defences. As one Engineer noted, it was 'no rest for the wicked ... and still less for the Royal Engineers' (Porter 1889: 76 and 64–85 for a more detailed account of the challenges and practicalities; see also Sandes 1937: 88–121). Few British members of the force had any experience managing camels, so much of the burden fell on drivers and handlers from Egypt and Arabia. When the column stopped for the night, 'The way in which the unfortunate camels tumbled about in the dark, and loads came off, and the strong language that was used, were things to see and

hear' (Wilson 1886: 7). Under attack, the baggage train was protected by a *zariba*, or wall constructed from thorn trees. The square formation adopted by the fighting force also made use of camels and baggage to protect troops and slow the approach of 'dervish' attackers. This is the kind of work in which Solomon Negima was involved.

Charles W. Wilson of the Royal Engineers was a personal friend of General Gordon, and took command of the Desert Column after Stewart was mortally wounded. His account *From Korti to Khartum* (1886) was written up later from his field notes, and provides a detailed description of the Bayuda Desert. It was not an utterly barren, sandy desert, but had occasional patches of grazing for the camels and ponies. The road was firm and the temperature at the time of year more likely to trouble the force with cold than heat (Wilson 1886: xxvi–xxvii). Water was, however, in very short supply, and securing wells was essential for the force to survive and proceed. When they arrived at a water source, it was difficult to prevent a stampede: 'It was a curious scene, as the camels, donkeys, and ponies rushed for the water directly they arrived, and had to be kept back by the main force' (Wilson 1886: 9). Meanwhile, tracks suggested that they were being watched by enemy scouts.

The Battle of Abu Klea,⁶ for which Solomon Negima received a medal clasp, took place on 17 January 1885. The Mahdist force which intercepted the British before they could reach the Abu Klea wells was only an advance party of the more substantial army waiting at the Nile at Metemneh. A *zariba* was constructed for the baggage train, and the main British force formed a square formation. The *anṣār* were fearless and fearsome in their attack, but this was essentially a 'battle' in which British forces gunned down an enemy armed only with spears. As Wilson described it:

At the head of each [phalanx] rode an emir or sheikh with a banner accompanied by personal attendants, and then came the fighting men. They advanced at a quick even pace as if on parade, and our skirmishers had only just time to get into the square before they were upon us. When the enemy commenced their advance, I remember experiencing a feeling of pity mixed with admiration for them, as I thought they would all be shot down in a few minutes. . . . As they advanced the feeling was changed to wonder that the tremendous fire we were keeping up had so little effect.

Wilson 1886: 27–8

The camels in the outer edges of the square formation did their job of slowing the enemy's rush, and the guns did their work. Solomon Negima later told Joseph Llewellyn Thomas that he had seen the death of Colonel Frederick Burnaby, the famous traveller and all-round celebrity swashbuckling imperialist. William McGonagall, one of the worst poets in history, immortalized the moment in verse:

Oh! it was an exciting and terrible sight,
To see Colonel Burnaby engaged in the fight:
With sword in hand, fighting with might and main,
Until killed by a spear-thrust in the jugular vein.

McGonagall, *The Battle of Abu Klea*

The British took care of their dead and wounded, and picked the battlefield clean of souvenirs ('Stuart-Wortley got a good prayer-carpet', Wilson 1886: 19).

For Solomon Negima and his colleagues in the Transport and Commissariat Corps, the night's work was only beginning. Early on the morning of 18 January, 'About an hour and a half after sunrise, the convoy came in from the zeribah. They had been up all night getting stores from the places where they had been used as parapets, and loading up the camels, so that they had had less sleep than we had' (Wilson 1886: 41). It was only then that the men and animals were able to get water.

At Metemmeh, for which Solomon Negima earned his second medal clasp, the format of the battle was similar. The Mahdist forces got between the British and their source of water – in this case, the Nile. The baggage train was protected in a *zariba*, made of the usual thorn bushes as well as camel-saddles and commissariat boxes (Wilson 1886: 61). The square withstood a charge in which British losses were eclipsed by those of the *anṣār*. The British got to the river and defended a position in a village while a smaller force proceeded to Khartoum on two steamers sent up by Gordon. They arrived only to find that the city had fallen two days previously, and were unable to approach under heavy fire. Then began the long, slow retreat of the entire expedition from the Sudan. It was July before Solomon Negima was discharged from the Army in Cairo. Throughout the whole campaign, the Royal Engineers and Transport and Commissariat Corps maintained a reputation for stoicism and ingenuity. Wilson records that even in the middle of the Battle of Metemmeh 'Crutchley, adjutant of the Guards, was badly hit in the leg as he was talking to Dorward,

who, true to his R.E. training, was bothering him for a receipt for some intrenching tools' (Wilson 1886: 69).

Interpreters on the Nile: Muhammed Effendi Ibrahim

Count Gleichen, a grand-nephew of Queen Victoria, and author of *With the Camel Corps up the Nile*, tells the adventures of a friendly stray dog – christened Jacky by the soldiers – who followed the army the whole way up from Aswan and back again. Gleichen's camel, which he named Potiphar, also gets his share of the spotlight. Local people get somewhat less courtesy, as assorted nameless 'Arabs', 'Gippos' and 'Niggers'. Even less overtly racist officers tended to see the Sudanese and Egyptians – and anyone else who was not British – as an undifferentiated mass. Wilson found that 'it was difficult to keep the natives in order' (Wilson 1886: 6). Solomon Negima's experience of the Nile Expedition was not that of a British officer. How much insight can we glean into how interpreters and headmen in the transport corps were treated, and what they thought of this treatment?

It is easier to come up with numbers than it is names. At Abu Klea, there were around 300 'native' drivers and 2,780 camels, according to one modern reckoning (Snook 2013: 521). Few of these appear as individual actors in contemporary British accounts. In the medal lists, interpreters do appear by name (Webb 1981). So do the headmen of No. 9 Company of the Commissariat and Transport Corps, including Solomon Negima (see Fig. 4). His colleagues, listed with him on the medal roll, were Ibrahim Johnson, Donald Ramsay, Phillipo Attard, Antonio Sumbri, Giovanni Bonello, Fortennato Romeo, Ahmed Helmi, Deoniscos Panthayedes and Ali Mahomed. Their names indicate that they were a mix of Arab, British, Italian, Maltese and Greek. Attard was discharged to Alexandria, Sumbri and Bonello to Malta. Helmi became the dragoman at Port Said harbour, which may well have been his job before the expedition. Mahomed remained with the Transport and Commissariat Corps. This is all the information we have on them.

The interpreter's duties – which his testimonials tell us were also those of Solomon Negima, whatever his official position – were varied. They included questioning captured enemy guides and soldiers, reconnaissance and

intelligence work, going with boat crews to gather supplies from locals, and even disciplining troops (Wilson 1886: 56, 165; Gleichen 1888: 258). They could even be sent to retrieve lost property, in circumstances that were hardly fair: 'I had sent my second interpreter for my ulster, and only in the evening found he had not got it – he said he could not find my camel; I expect he was too frightened to look for it' (Wilson 1886: 83). Some officers, at least, recognized how reliant they were on their services. In the absence of an interpreter on board one of the two steamers which left Metemmeh for Khartoum, one officer was reduced to giving orders 'in forcible Arabic, helped out by strong English and much vigour of action' (Wilson 1886: 141–2) – or, to put it another way, shouting and waving his arms. Even when an interpreter was available, one was rarely enough: 'it was difficult to convey orders and get work done with only one interpreter – all we could do was to give instructions and let them work in their own way' (Wilson 1886: 155).

There is only one interpreter with the Desert Column – and, as far as I am able to gather, with the entire Nile Expedition – whose story is known to us in any detail. Muhammed Effendi Ibrahim appears in both the (contrasting) accounts of Charles W. Wilson and Count Gleichen. He was wounded at Abu Klea, and Wilson praises his 'plucky' behaviour and general nonchalance in the face of danger: 'he was soon hoisted on a camel, where he solaced himself with a cigarette, and surveyed the surrounding scene' (Wilson 1886: 74–5). Muhammed Effendi had a 'curious history':

He was a friend of Arabi Pasha, and after Tel-el-Kebir escaped to Sheikh Senusi, in the desert south of Tripoli. After the amnesty, he returned to Cairo, and entered the secret police; he left them for some fancied slight from the English commandant, and became Webber's⁷ interpreter; then I heard of him, and secured his services. He was most useful at Dongola, as, being a Moslem, he could mix with the people and find out what was going on.

Wilson 1886: 74–5

Gleichen's account is somewhat more dismissive, using 'little' Muhammed Effendi to tell a ghost story, and giving no other information on his career or actions in the Sudan:

We had a capital little interpreter, Mehemet Effendi, who had travelled over most of the Soudan, and some of his stories of the desert were thrilling –

very. I particularly remember his describing to us the desert between Korosko and Abu Hamed, which he said was ankle-deep in loose sand the whole way (230 miles). It is the desert where Mehemet Ali lost a whole army from thirst, and their ghosts are supposed to haunt it; at all events, our friend swore that the last time he journeyed across it he was disturbed at night by ghostly-trumpet-calls from the desert, mingled with faint words of command and the tramp of phantom feet.

He was a well-educated man, having been brought up in Marseilles and lived in Italy for some time; he was therefore not generally liable to his country-men's superstitions, in fact, he owned that he never believed in djins or spirits before; but he was perfectly certain that over and over again he saw white-coated columns in the distance, disappearing to the accompaniment of the ghostly music aforesaid. This happened just in the region where their bones are now covered with the shifting sands!

Gleichen 1888: 43–4

Muhammed Effendi Ibrahim was, by Wilson's account, 'a small man of curious appearance, with large projecting eyes, a cool manner unusual in an oriental, and a persuasive tongue, coupled with a way of making himself ubiquitous which was really remarkable' (Wilson 1886: 214–15). His description of the interpreter both reinforces and challenges Orientalist stereotypes. He exposed himself to danger: 'a good proof that every Egyptian is not a coward; and best of all, he did not lose heart when we turned to run down' (Wilson 1886: 177). Wilson sketches a picture of a man who was simultaneously a civilized intermediary with the 'wild Sudanese', an Egyptian rebel against British imperial authority – and a servant devoted to his British master:

I found Ibrahim's knowledge of the Sudanese invaluable. He had proved his pluck at Abu Klea and Matammeh, and had shown himself so attached to me that I felt sure he would be loyal under all circumstances.

It was a curious position to be in, – to have to control a lot of wild Sudanese, some of whose loyalty was doubtful, through an Egyptian who had fought against us at Tel-el-Kebir and been the friend of Arabi.

Wilson 1886: 214

We are a very long way from hearing Muhammed Effendi Ibrahim's own perspective of being with the British in the Sudan, as a European-educated member of the Egyptian élite, who had fought with a movement to rid Egypt of the British only a few years before. The Nile Expedition, as I have already

suggested, was an economic opportunity for many, and we cannot assume that all who signed up were themselves supporters of British imperialism.

The tale of Muhammed Effendi does clarify one thing about the career of Solomon Negima on the Nile, and the sense in which he may or may not have been 'last interpreter standing'. On 24 January 1885, after the Battle of Metemmeh, the smaller advance party left on the steamers for Khartoum, 'with only one interpreter, the faithful Muhammed Ibrahim, still suffering from a flesh-wound in his side'

Wilson 1886: 129–30.

Solomon's officers

Captain H. P. Leach, RE

Harold Pemberton Leach (1851–1930) was born in Londonderry, Ireland, and came from a distinguished military family.⁸ His father, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir G. A. Leach, had also served in the Royal Engineers, as did his more famous brother, General Sir Edward Pemberton Leach, recipient of the Victoria Cross, who was also on the Sudan campaign. After joining the Royal Engineers and training in London, Leach was assigned to the Bengal Sappers and Miners. 'He remained there for four years, and in addition to his professional duties, did lots of big game shooting, pig sticking and polo, becoming quite a useful player in the latter game.' He saw active service in Afghanistan, for which he was decorated.

Leach ended up with the Nile Expedition because of a chance encounter with a General who happened to have read his pamphlet *On the Treatment and Management of Camels*. One suspects the readership may have been small, although it was by no means the only such guide issued for the use of Army personnel. A decade after the Gordon Relief Expedition, Major Arthur Glyn Leonard published an entire book on the subject, based on his experiences serving in the Sudan and India (Leonard 1894). Leach was on leave from India in London in 1884, and tried, unsuccessfully, to volunteer for the Nile Expedition. It was then that he met the General in question, and 'On pleading guilty [of being the author of the pamphlet], Leach was promptly asked to join the transport branch of the force and he was officially lent to the home Government for this purpose.'

In 1885, on the basis of his service in the Sudan, Leach was promoted to Major and received further distinctions: the Distinguished Service Order, Companion Commander of the Bath (1896) and Commander of the Order of the British Empire (1919). He spent most of his career in India and reached the rank of Brigadier-General. Although he had retired to England in 1905, he returned to active duty, largely in training troops, in the First World War.

Captain E. J. J. Teale, DACG

Edward John Jenkins Teale (1858–1945) was born in Yorkshire. After serving as Deputy Assistant Commissary General in the Sudan, he saw active service in South Africa, with the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, before retiring from the Army and becoming Chief Constable of Eastbourne (1900–18). In 1912, he was caught up in a minor scandal:

CHIEF CONSTABLE AS PETITIONER CASE FROM EASTBOURNE

In the Divorce Court yesterday, Major Teale (Chief Constable of Eastbourne) petitioned for the dissolution of his marriage, alleging the misconduct of his wife, Mary Kathleen Teale, with the co-respondent Mr. Hand.

The petitioner said that he was married on December 18, 1884, at St. Finbars Cathedral, Co. Cork. He and his wife had lived at Eastbourne for the past twelve years. His wife had been separated from him, owing to her hysterical temperament, for some years. He never suspected her of unfaithfulness until last year, when he saw her in London in connection with some rumours he had heard. She admitted misconduct, but refused to state the name of the man. She said that she was going abroad with him.

In the course of a letter written after this interview, Mrs. Teale said:-

Dear Ned, – Perhaps it is as well that you should know that I have no intention of ever returning to you. Nothing will induce me to do so, the chief reason being that I care too much for another man. Were I free and he in a better position and had means to support me, I would marry him. That's what becomes of a woman who has few friends. Their motto here has been, 'When a woman's down, keep her down.'

Other evidence was given that Mrs. Teale had stayed with a man at an hotel in Craven-street, Strand.

Sir Samuel Evans granted the petitioner a decree nisi, with costs and custody of the two daughters of the marriage.

London Standard, 16 October, 1912

If the date in the newspaper report is correct, Teale and his wife must have married immediately before he left for the Sudan, when she was just twenty. Their son, Herbert J. Franklin Teale, was born in Cork in 1886, so evidently Mary Kathleen continued to live with her family while Edward was overseas. In the 1891 census, Mary Kathleen Teale, twenty-seven, and her son were listed as living with her husband's brother and his family in Yorkshire. At the time of the 1901 census, anomalously, the family were living together in Eastbourne, after Edward returned from South Africa. Herbert had been joined by Vera, born in Ireland in 1895, and Doreen, also born in Ireland in 1897. In the 1911 census, Mary Kathleen was listed as a married woman, living alone, with a servant, in London, while Vera and Doreen were at boarding school in Eastbourne, and Herbert had gone to sea with the Navy. It is never wise to jump to conclusions about someone else's marriage, even if they divorced a century ago, but the Teales can have spent little time together, and this cannot have helped their relationship. Edward Teale re-married in 1913, to a much younger woman named Beatrice Julie Newbold (née Hirsch, born to German parents in London in 1878), a divorcée with a young daughter. So Edward seems to have had his own reasons for wanting a divorce. Since the data from the 1921 Census for England is not yet available, I have not been able to trace where and with whom Mary Kathleen Teale was living at that time, or whether she had gone abroad with her lover as she had planned. Evidently the Teales were happier apart.

Tourists and Pilgrims

Mr Woolrych Perowne's Co-operative Educational Tours

At the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 – so the story goes – America was introduced to the belly-dance. Fahreda Mazar Spyropoulos, the Syrian wife of a local Greek restaurateur, gyrated under the stage name 'Little Egypt', as part of the show 'Algerian Dancers of Morocco' at an attraction called 'A Street in Cairo'. To the American public, the mysterious Orient was all one. According to popular legend, a later performance by Little Egypt gave Mark Twain a heart attack.

Mrs Spyropoulos, as it happens, did nothing of the sort – or at least not at the World's Fair. There were 'Oriental' dancing girls, but these were mostly recruited in the cafés of Paris, and they performed in an elaborate pastiche of a Cairene street (Egypt-Chicago Exposition Co. 1893; Çelik 1992; Kennedy 1998; see Fig. 6). A contemporary guide book, *The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*, painted the scene:

The street in Cairo, which had won fame before the Exposition was a week old, comes next to the west. It presents to the visitor a series of views in the wonderful land of Egypt. In addition to the oriental nature of its architecture and decorations, the resemblance is carried still further by peopling the streets with the identical types of persons and animals one sees in the real Cairo. There are Egyptians, Arabs, Soudanese and other Africans, besides camels and donkeys with their drivers. There are private houses and stores; an Egyptian theatre, and a mosque. In the marts of the street are to be found oriental wares of every kind, jewels, daggers, wood carvings, embroideries, silks, shawls, bangles and pipes, and everything else found in the bazaars of the far east. In the theatre the dancing girls exhibit the famous "danse du ventre."

White and Igleheart 1893: 572–4

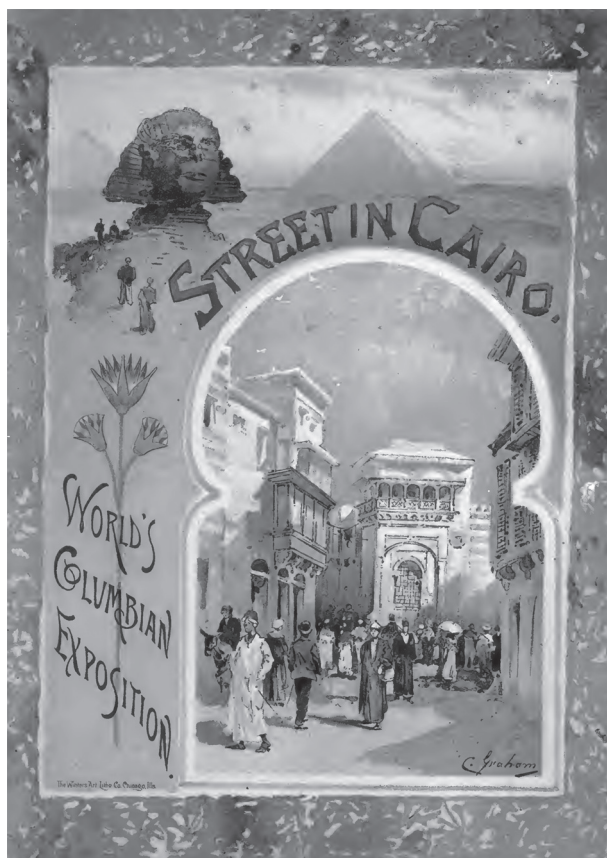


Figure 6 A Street in Cairo.

Mr and Mrs J. S. Thompson of Lacon, Illinois, who had travelled with Solomon Negima in 1889 (SN 30) were at the World's Fair and saw the dancers. On 22 November 1893, they wrote to Solomon to say that they had hoped to see him there:

While in Chicago at the World's Fair, we met some people who had a Turkish Dancing Hall and entertainment, from Beyrouth and Damascus. We asked one of the men if he knew you; he said he did and knew you well. When we told him that you were our dragoman while in Palestine, he seemed very much pleased, and said we could come in free just as much as we wanted to. We looked for you a little at the World's Fair. In fact, we have always thought that we would one day see you again.

SN 44; see Fig. 7

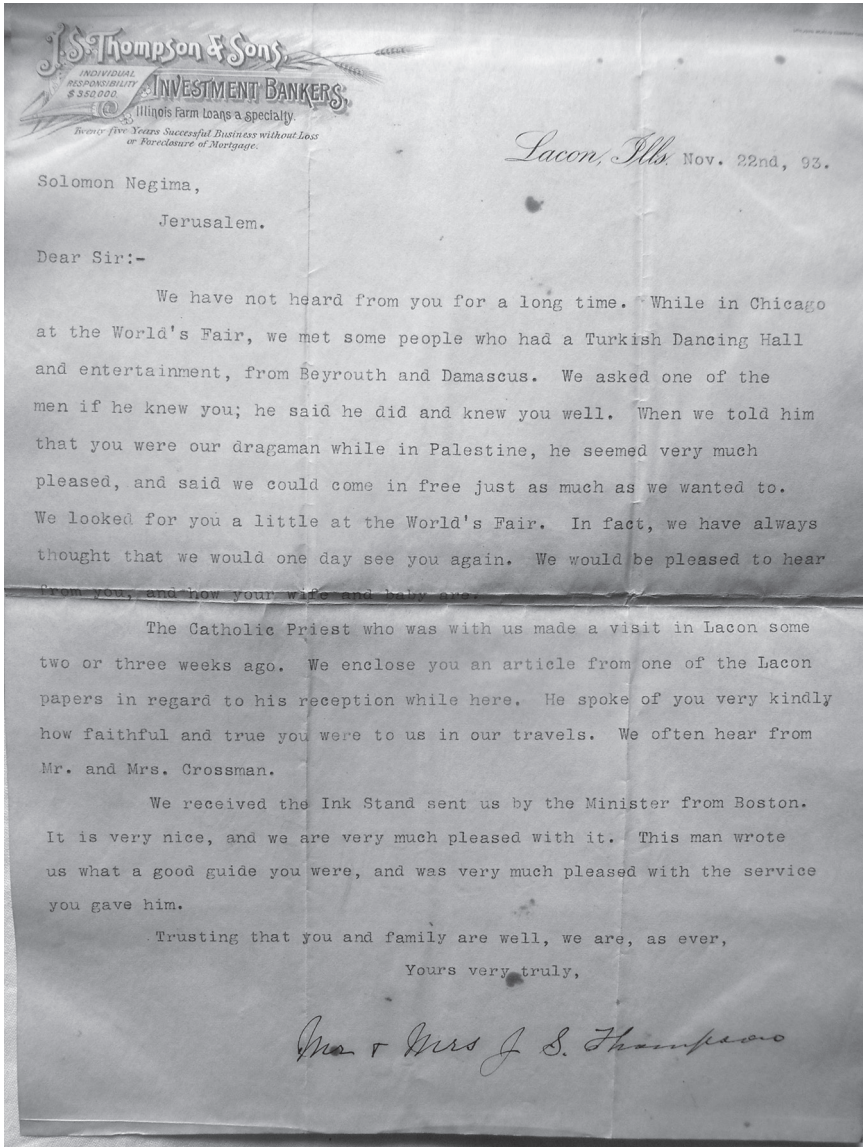


Figure 7 SN 44: Letter from Mr and Mrs J. S. Thompson.

The Thompsons were not wrong to expect to see their dragoman. Another client of Solomon Negima's, Rev. J. Ll. Thomas, was approached by an Egyptian dragoman at the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle (SN 32). At the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904, a dragoman named Khalil S. Gandour took part in 'Cook's

Palestine Exhibit'. Gandour met former clients and showed them around the exhibition. He also signed postcards on which he appeared in Middle Eastern dress; 'his picture does not do him justice' wrote one new acquaintance (see Fig. 8; Mairs and Muratov 2015: 4–5; another signed photograph of Gandour appears in Swinglehurst 1974: 79).

For exhibitors, the Chicago World's Fair was about more than selling fantasies of Oriental dancing girls, and Oriental trinkets: it was about selling

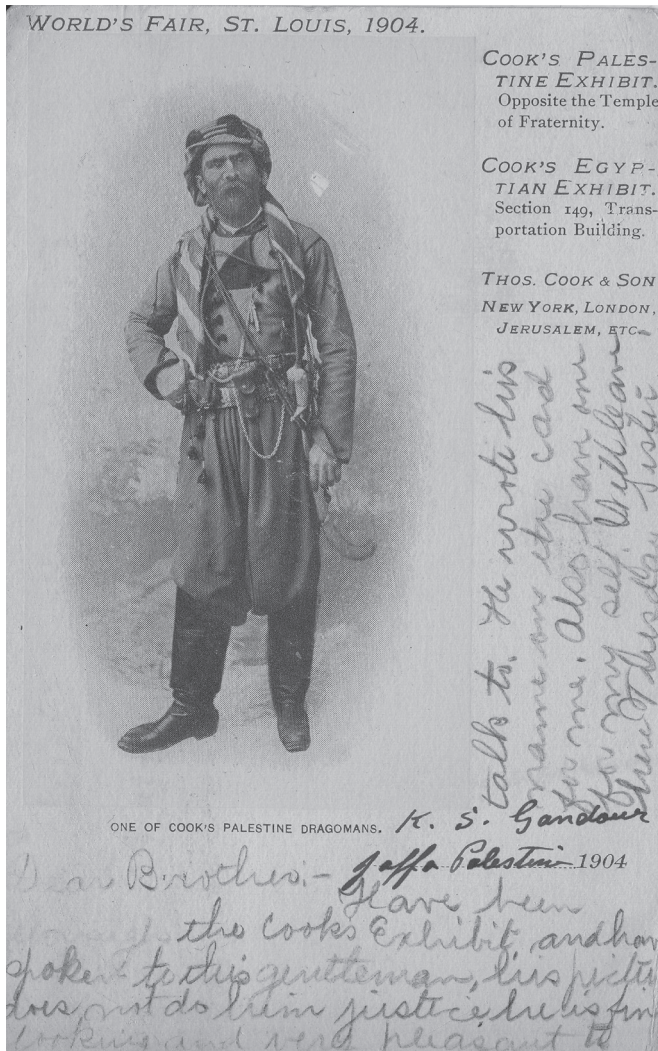


Figure 8 Postcard of dragoman Khalil S. Gandour.

tours. Thomas Cook and Son published their own guide, posing as information for Fair visitors (Cook & Son 1893). In reality, it was an extended advertisement for the company, pitched to a potentially lucrative American market. Cook's own exhibit at the Fair is described at length: exotic sights, such as the Temple of Edfu, were carefully juxtaposed with models of Nile steamers and Palestinian tourist encampments, indicating the comfort Cook's could bring to a foreign tour. The booklet naturally also includes full descriptions and itineraries for a selection of Cook's tours. For a Midwesterner caught up in the heady rush of the kitsch Cairene street, its bazaars and belly-dancers, it was all very enticing.

Just before Christmas 1892, the *London Review of Reviews* published a fictionalized account of a trip from England to the Chicago exhibition, entitled *From the Old World to the New* (see Fig. 9). It was attractively illustrated and written in a lively manner, describing, for example, an excited young boy's visit to the Cairo street, which was 'a condensed epitome of Oriental life' in 'the unchanging East' (*Review of Reviews* 1892: 105). Combining elements of a love story, children's adventure tale and guide book, it was excellent day-dream fodder for young and old alike. It spoke to an audience curious about a wider world, and brought new technology and foreign lands into their homes. It was the perfect venue for a travel agent to promote his tours. Readers did not have to live vicariously through pictures of an exhibition they had not even visited: they could see the real thing, and they could do so on a moderate budget.

A reader opening *From the Old World to the New* was first confronted with eight pages of advertisements masquerading as editorial content, followed by a further twelve pages of less subtle advertising, of everything from Brown's Patent Demathistic Corset to Carbolic Smoke Balls (For Inhalation Only). The latter were claimed to cure colds, asthma and, somewhat improbably, deafness. The opening 'article' was entitled, innocuously enough, 'The Pilgrimage Movement; or What Co-operation will do for Travel'. The author was one Rev. Dr. Lunn, whose contact address was care of 'The Review of the Churches', 5 Endsleigh Gardens, London N.W. (a point to which I shall return). He refers in several places to 'my friend, Mr. Woolrych Perowne', son of the Bishop of Worcester. Sure enough, Woolrych Perowne's tours, to Chicago for the World's Fair, and to Rome, are advertised a few pages later.

Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) J. T. Woolrych Perowne (1863–1954) is the final signatory of SN 13, of 9 March 1895. Although the letter does not say

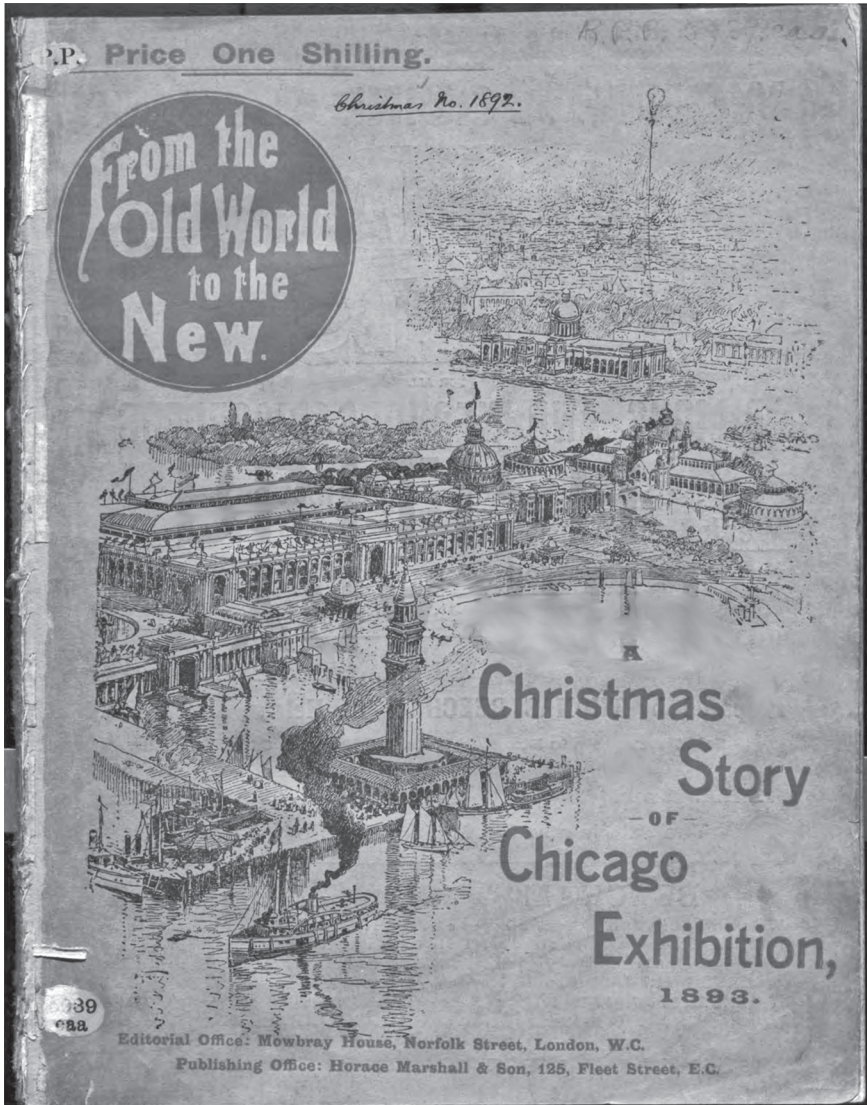


Figure 9 From the Old World to the New.

so, he had secured Solomon Negima's services in his role as tour leader, not a tourist. His father, John Perowne, was indeed the Bishop of Worcester,¹ and this gave gravitas to his promotion of his religiously-themed tours. His 1893 brochure for tours to the Holy Land, Egypt, Greece and Italy bears the title *Mr. Woolrych Perowne's Co-operative Educational Tours*. The trip to Palestine is

billed as a pilgrimage, not a tourist trip. Woolrych Perowne name-drops his father and Rev. Lunn (his business partner).

'Mr Woolrych Perowne's Co-operative Educational Tours' were advertised in newspapers and magazines, often on the same pages as Thomas Cook's (see Fig. 10: *The Westminster Budget*, 21 June 1895). He ran several tours to Palestine and Syria in the 1890s. His speciality was celebrity speakers: well-known scholars and churchmen who lent the appropriate 'educational' air to his tours. These included his father, as well as a number of Palestine-based archaeologists and Biblical scholars, whose relationships with Perowne, Solomon Negima and others will be discussed below. A name which recurs is that of Professor J. P. Mahaffy, of Trinity College Dublin. Mahaffy, who was a character of the highest order, and had taken Oscar Wilde on his first trip to Greece, was renowned for

MR. WOOLRYCH PEROWNE'S

THIRTY GUINEA

CRUISES

TO

PALESTINE, EGYPT,

ATHENS, AND

CONSTANTINOPLE.

LEAVING LONDON

October 15, November 18, and

December 20

(FULL).

LECTURES IN JERUSALEM
&c., BY DEAN FARRAR, SIR
LAMBERT PLAYFAIR, AND
OTHERS.

The sum of thirty guineas covers a return ticket from London to Marseilles and thirty days' cruise on the Mediterranean, with a liberal table, and the use of the steam launch when in port, so that passengers can take their meals on the vessel when remaining in port. The Christmas cruise is already closed for booking, and early application is desirable to secure the best berths in the other cruises. For plan of the steamer and all particulars, apply to the Secretary, 5, Endsleigh-gardens, London, N.W.

Figure 10 Advertisement of Woolrych Perowne's tours.

his ability to sing for his supper: he had even written a book on the subject (Mahaffy 1887). He could be depended upon to put on a good show (Stanford and McDowell 1971; Mairs 2010). Speakers on other tours included Professor A. H. Sayce, who wrote an introduction to the independent traveller Ellen E. Miller's account of her trip with Solomon Negima (Chapter 4). All in all, as Woolrych Perowne's advertising copy had it: 'By arranging this somewhat elaborate series of lectures. Dr. Lunn and I hope to give to the whole tour an educational value such as has never been available before for Bible students. All who wish to visit the Holy Land must desire above everything to have opportunities of studying, under intelligent guidance, the scenes which recall events of surpassing interest to the whole world.'

Perowne's tours were cleverly pitched to enable tourists to convince themselves and others that they were not going on holiday, but travelling for their intellectual and spiritual betterment. Prices were not dissimilar to those of Thomas Cook and other operators. Indeed, in Egypt and the Holy Land, Perowne discreetly subcontracted travel arrangements to Cook's, because of the latter's monopoly on the best transportation arrangements. His 1895 brochure offers six weeks in the Holy Land, Egypt and Greece for 80 guineas. A cruise to Palestine, Egypt, Athens and Constantinople was cheaper (the term always used in advertisements, not 'inexpensive') at 30 guineas for four weeks. This tour could be done in combination with a visit to the 1896 Athens Olympic Games, the first modern Olympics. Cook's had similar offerings, but Woolrych Perowne and his colleague Dr Lunn cleverly cornered the market of clergymen travelling on a moderate budget. Lest any country vicar hesitate about the expense or the time away from his parish, the involvement of the Bishop of Worcester guaranteed the tour's social and spiritual calibre. In the run up to the tour of the spring of 1895, which was guided in Palestine by Solomon Negima, the Bishop's participation as a tourist and a guest lecturer was heavily promoted in the press.

Woolrych Perowne did not entirely get away with his advertising sleights of hand. He was accused of sharp practices, notably in a series of angry letters to the Catholic review *The Tablet*. These mostly relate to the 'Grindelwald Conference', an event in Switzerland which he organized. One picks up on the fact that various businesses were conducted out of the same address in London, 5 Endsleigh Gardens:

“TRUTH” ABOUT THE GRINDELWALD CONFERENCE.

The latest move in connection with the summer excursions to Switzerland which masquerade under the title of the “Grindelwald Conference” is the following circular addressed to clergymen:

“5, Endsleigh-gardens, London, N.W., June 13, 1895.

The Grindelwald Conference, 1895.

Dear Sir,—I should be exceedingly obliged to you if you would kindly send me on the enclosed post-card the names and addresses of the six principal laymen in your parish, as I am anxious to send them particulars of the Grindelwald Conference. It is exceedingly desirable that these gatherings should represent not only the clergy, but also those of the laity who take a definite interest in the solution of the problems which confront the Churches. “Perhaps you would permit me at the same time to call your attention to the special concessions for ministers which Dr. Lunn is making for a limited number of tickets, particulars of which will be found on the enclosed card. “I trust you will pardon my trespassing on your kindness by asking you to send me these details.

“Yours faithfully,

“Henry Riches, Secretary.”

A pretty piece of impudence truly! In order to assist the promoters of these excursions in their advertising arrangements, parish clergymen are coolly asked to forward the names of parishioners whom it may pay to send circulars to. That is what it comes to—neither more nor less. This Grindelwald Conference business is one of the most obnoxious pieces of humbug now before the public. At the same address given above, 5, Endsleigh Gardens, Mr. Woolrych Perowne carries on a tourist agency, which differs only from those of the older established firms in the same line in being surrounded with a halo of cant about educational advantages. In the circulars with which Mr. Perowne floods London about once a month the Grindelwald Conference is mixed up indiscriminately with cruises to the Norwegian Fjords, yachting trips to the Baltic, “Tours de luxe” in Italy, cheap trips to Rome, and so forth; and no one can doubt that the Grindelwald picnic is part and parcel of the same business, only rather more loudly puffed. If anybody did doubt it, I would simply refer him to the following passage from a circular which Mr. Perowne issued a few weeks before Whitsuntide. It comes

in after particulars of a cruise in the Baltic and two trips to Norway. The italics are mine:

“I should also like to mention the arrangements for *a delightful Swiss holiday for ten guineas in connection with the Grindelwald Conference*. The lectures will not commence until the middle of July, but *there will be an advance party for the Whitsuntide holidays leaving England on May 31, and other advance parties during June*.”

The Conference does not begin till the middle of July, but the Endsleigh Gardens agency will book ten-guinea trips “in connection with it” for six weeks or so before the proceedings open. Does not this let the light in upon the whole humbug? There is no reason, of course, why Mr. Perowne should not start a tourist agency, nor why he should not advertise it by any means that will pay. He seems an enterprising man of business, and as such I wish him success. But the share of the Rev. Dr. Lunn and his colleagues in the concern, the religious cant that is imported into it, and the pretence that the re-union of Christendom is to be accomplished, or “the problems which confront the churches” solved, by booking cheap-trippers to Switzerland, are intolerably offensive.

The Tablet: 29 June 1895

The author of the letter, whose name is not printed, takes special exception to the recruitment of unwitting clergymen as sources of names and addresses of potential customers. Another writer recognised the complicity of a much larger number of people, including eminent clerics:

The precious “Grindelwald Conference” was opened on Sunday with a sermon from the Archdeacon of Manchester, and an “inaugural address” from the Rev. Dr. Lunn. The latter stated that the results achieved by the three Reunion Conferences had far exceeded the most sanguine expectations, but (perhaps owing to the fault of the reporters) I have been unable to gather from him what these results are, unless he refers to the handsome profits which have accrued, directly or indirectly, to the Endsleigh Gardens tourist agency which promotes the enterprise. The most remarkable point about the proceedings is that in the list of those present at the opening of this caucus, which is to bring about the Reunion of the Churches, there is not the name of a single representative of any Continental Church, but, as usual, the list is largely composed of British and American divines—chiefly of the advertizing order.

One naturally asks why all these worthies should go to Grindelwald to “confer.” Why not to St. James’s Hall or Spurgeon’s Tabernacle? The answer, I fear, is that on that basis the “conference” would be absolutely useless to the Lunn-Perowne tourist agency. Possibly a further answer is, that without the inducements of “an ideal Swiss holiday” at a nonsival figure, with hotel expenses thrown in, the services of the various eminent clerics, whose names now grace the bill and lend additional attractions to the entertainment, would not be so easily obtained. How men like the Dean of Ripon and Mr. Athelstan Riley can allow themselves to be mixed up with such transparent humbug I am at a loss to understand.

The Tablet: 7 September 1895

The unsolicited letters of 1895 are today’s spam email. In many professional fields, the conference-as-holiday model is still a flourishing industry.

The recent pilgrimage to Jerusalem

The group who wrote a letter of recommendation for Solomon Negima at Jerusalem on 9 March 1895 (SN 13) most probably represent only a small fraction of the number on Woolrych Perowne’s Holy Land tour for that year. As Perowne’s advertisements show, he put on a similar tour in the spring of each year through most of the 1890s. It comprised a visit to Italy, Egypt, Palestine and Greece, with lectures by speakers who travelled with the group specially, and by local clergymen and scholars at points along the way. For the 1895 tour, we have little additional information, other than Solomon’s testimonial letter. For the tour of the previous year, however, we have a fuller account by one of the group’s own guest speakers. The 1894 visit supplies a fair template for the 1895 tour, and shows the collaboration between local, regional and international tour operators in putting together a packed itinerary. In the next section, I return to examine the make-up of the 1895 tour.

One hundred and twenty tourists travelled with Woolrych Perowne to Italy, Egypt, the Holy Land and Greece in the spring of 1894. ‘The Recent Pilgrimage to Jerusalem’ is described by Syrian-born American archaeologist Frederick J. Bliss in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (Bliss 1894). The party arrived at Jaffa on Sunday 25 February, from Egypt. It was a comfortable landing, although

a boat the following week was left stuck at sea in stormy conditions for forty-eight hours before it could land. The group included twenty-two clergymen (five of whom, in an ecumenical spirit, were Nonconformists), including, naturally, the Bishop of Worcester. There was also Rev. Henry Baker Tristram, Canon of Durham, an experienced Middle Eastern traveller, and author of a number of books on the region, including the recently-published *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands* (1894), which many of the party had doubtless read in preparation for the trip. Another celebrity participant was Rev. Osborne Jay, who worked in the slums of East London, author of somewhat heavier works such as *Life in Darkest London* (1891) and *The Social Problem: Its Possible Solution* (1893). The ubiquitous Professor Mahaffy had lectured to the group in Cairo, and would do so again in Athens. At Rome, the lecturer was Frederic Farrar, Archdeacon of Westminster Abbey, who had been one of the pallbearers at the funeral of Charles Darwin (Canon Tristram also reconciled Darwinism with his religious beliefs). Woolrych Perowne had put together an excellent line-up of guest speakers.

From Jaffa, about fifty of the party went straight to Jerusalem by train, with the rest following by train or carriage the following day, Monday. Bliss notes that 'the hotel accommodation here was somewhat strained, but all were comfortably housed' (Bliss 1894: 101). On the complete party's first evening in Jerusalem, Canon Tristram gave a lecture on the landscape of Palestine. On Tuesday, the group moved on to Jericho, stopping en route for lunch at the 'Good Samaritan's Inn' – a clever piece of local marketing. After lunch, Canon Tristram gave an outdoor lecture on their route. That evening, 'On arriving at Jericho we found that a magic town had sprung up in the night: a huge circle was formed by about forty white tents, with great dining tents in the middle' (Bliss 1894: 104). The camp had been set up by Alexander Howard, with whom Solomon Negima often worked. Bliss notes that the general arrangements for the group in Palestine had been subcontracted to Thomas Cook and Son. After dinner, it was Bliss's turn to give a lecture. The next morning, Wednesday, the party set off on a trip to the Jordan and Dead Sea. Tristram and Bliss took a day off from their lecturing duties and went exploring: 'it was difficult to realise that thirteen years had gone by since [Tristram's] last visit to Palestine: every bird, every plant were as familiar to him as if he had seen them the day before' (Bliss 1894: 104). The pair investigated some mounds where local people were

digging out building materials, and identified what they decided was Herod's palace – a discovery duly reported to the tour group that evening.

Wednesday night was rainy: 'while the lecture was going on the rain beat down upon the tent' (Bliss 1894: 106). Thursday, however, brought clear skies for their journey back to Jerusalem. That evening, Rev. Arthur Hastings Kelk, head of the city's Anglican mission, spoke to the party about modern Jerusalem, and its changing religious mix: while the Christian population had remained more or less static, in recent years there had been a moderate fall in the number of Muslims, and a huge increase in the number of Jews.

The group was impractically large for Friday's activities, so it was split into two. Half went to Bethlehem, accompanied by Canon Tristram and yet more of his lectures. The rest took a walking tour of Jerusalem with Rev. J. E. Hanauer (whose career and connection to Solomon Negima is discussed in Chapter 4). Even the reduced group proved too large for open-air lecturing, so in the afternoon the Bethlehem group heard Hanauer's lectures indoors, then were shown around Jerusalem in smaller groups with individual dragomans. With a group of one hundred and twenty in town, it must have been all dragoman hands on deck. If the 1895 tour followed the same itinerary, this was probably Solomon Negima's role. Friday was packed with activities: that evening, there was another lecture, from Rev. John Zeller, an Anglican missionary at Nazareth, on the Druzes. Bliss was pleased with the tourists' interest: 'The enthusiasm of the pilgrims for the lectures was most gratifying to those who arranged them. In six days they listened to ten lectures and visited all the sites of Jerusalem besides' (Bliss 1894: 107). After a weekend in Jerusalem, and Sabbath sermons from two Bishops (of Worcester and North Dakota), a small group travelled on to Damascus. The majority of the 'pilgrims' returned to Jaffa and embarked for Athens.

The 1894 tour was brief – just over a week – and the itinerary was packed, with lectures in the early morning and late evening to fit around their travel and visits. For the majority, it ended in Jaffa on 5 March. Solomon Negima's letter from some of Woolrych Perowne's party of 1895 is dated to 9 March; the tour, for whatever practical reasons, had been shifted a few days later. If we suppose a similar itinerary, then the most obvious role for Solomon would be as guide for a small group around Jerusalem. This also fits with the wording of

the testimonial letter itself: 'During our short stay in Jerusalem. . .' (SN 13). We cannot, of course, rule out Solomon having spent a longer time with his clients, perhaps after the end of the tour, or during the weekend break in Jerusalem before the group's departure (9 March 1895 was a Saturday). What Bliss's account of the 1894 tour, Woolrych Perowne's advertising copy, and Solomon Negima's letter reveal nicely is the interrelationship, and forced collaboration, between small- and large-scale tour operators in Palestine. At the top level, Woolrych Perowne and the Rev. Dr Lunn sold the tour to clients from their London office, and made the overall plan and arrangements. They recruited the guest speakers, their 'unique selling point'. In Egypt and Palestine, where Thomas Cook and Son dominated the local industry – they had, for example, an absolutely monopoly on Nile steamers – Woolrych Perowne subcontracted to Cook's, perhaps at a specially negotiated rate. In Palestine, Perowne or Cook's in turn brought in local expertise, in the form of Alexander Howard, one of the country's premier hoteliers and tour arrangers. At the base of the pyramid, we find the local dragomans who showed smaller parties of tourists from the larger tour around Jerusalem for visits of half a day or so. If the 1895 tour, like that of 1894, gave its travellers a free Saturday before their final Sabbath and departure from the Holy Land, then Solomon's letter of Saturday 9 March may indicate that he was hired privately by the same group he had previously shown around the city.

The 1895 party

Grand New Hotel, Jerusalem
A. & J. Morcos, Proprietors.
Jerusalem, March 9 1895

During our short stay in Jerusalem we, whose names are written below, had as our Dragoman Solomon N. Negima [surname twice crossed out and added above the line in pencil]. We were thoroughly satisfied with the way in which he performed his duties. He was attentive and courteous to all. He has a quiet and unassuming manner, and he has a good command of English. It may be worth mentioning that he served with the British in Egypt & has the medals of the Egyptian campaign.

I should like to recommend him heartily to anyone who wishes for a trustworthy, intelligent and reliable Dragoman in Palestine.

J. Howard Swinstead, Salisbury

E. T. Tyson J. P.

Mr & Mrs J. Bishell

B. G. Willis

George Walkinson [sic.]

Alfred Mercer Corah

J. G. Wells, Aldershot England

A. Goodwin Manchester

Grace Weston, Boston U.S.A.

E. C. Fisher " "

James Outram, Norwich

Mr & Mrs Geo. Willson [sic.]

E. H. Lewis Crosby, Dublin

A. E. Edge, Staffordshire

Mrs Mary E. Fisher, Boston U.S.A.

Francis Edw. Wilkinson

M. Luther Wlon [= Wilkinson?]

J. T. Woolrych Perowne

March 9/95

SN 13; see Fig. 11

A number of the signatories of Solomon Negima's testimonial letter from J. T. Woolrych Perowne's party of March 1895 cannot be traced any further. Names such as Fisher and Wilson are not promising leads: without a first name, precise location and some subsidiary information (such as a clerical or aristocratic title) they are too common to be conclusively matched to an individual in newspaper archives, census records, library catalogues or other such sources of information. For SN 13, I have no further information on the Bishells, B. G. Willis, George Walkinson, the two Wilkinsons, the Fishers, Mr and Mrs George Willson or A. E. Edge. There are also some hypothetical matches which do not have enough supporting evidence to be compelling. It is tempting to identify George Walkinson (perhaps a variant spelling for 'Wilkinson') as George Howard Wilkinson (1833–1907), Bishop of St. Andrew's, who had travelled in the Holy Land, but – on the assumption that the Francis Edward and Martin Luther Wilkinsons who also signed are relations – the records do not fit. The artist Albert Goodwin, RWS, (1845–1932),

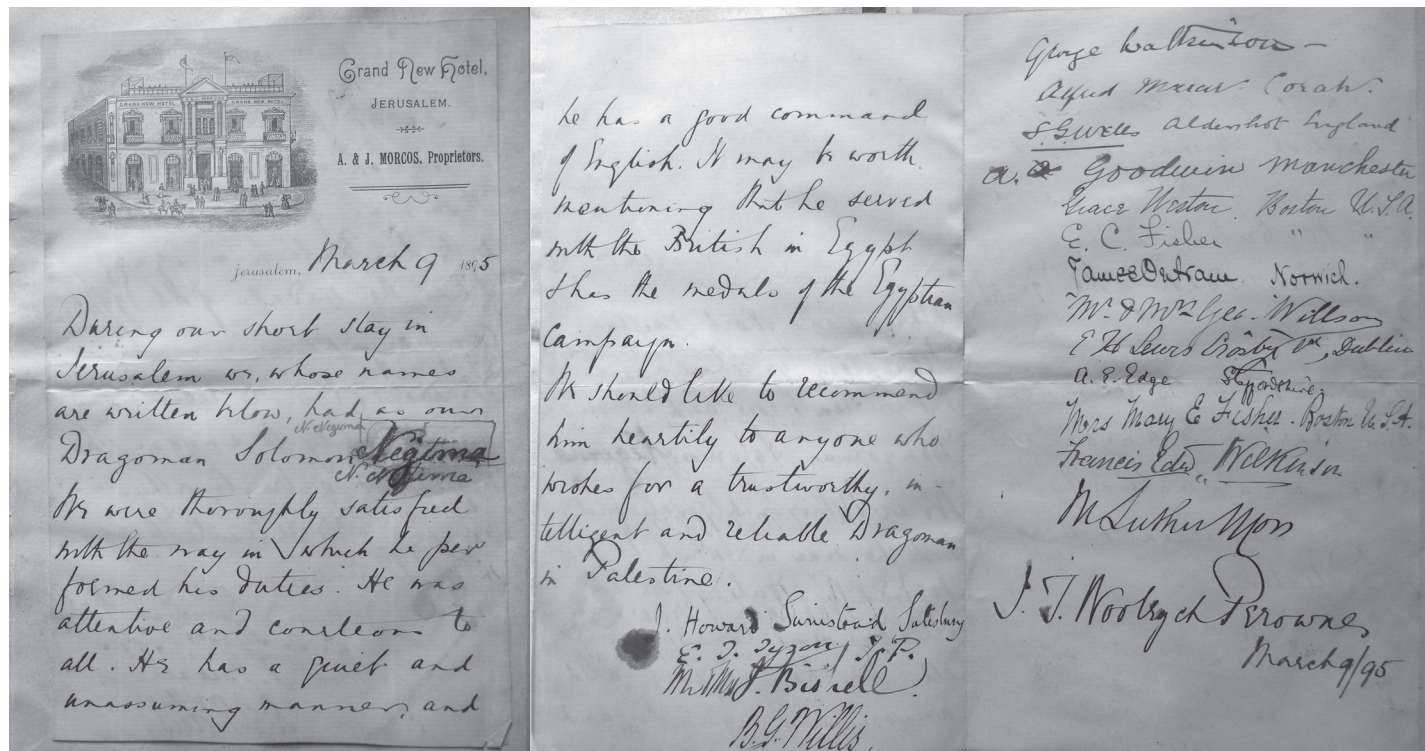


Figure 11 SN 13: Woolrych Perowne's 1895 party.

visited Egypt (1876, 1909) and India (1895). The signature on the testimonial letter does not match those on his paintings, although one might explain this away as the difference between pen and brush. Goodwin was enormously prolific, and painted numerous Biblical and Oriental scenes. Some of these are set in Palestine. I have not been able to find evidence of whether he ever visited the land himself (or, indeed, ever lived in Manchester), but his 1895 visit to India could have accommodated a stop en route. Although it inspired his art, he did not always enjoy the Middle East, writing of Cairo in his diary in 1909 'I never want to see it again' (Woodcock 2004: 103). So the artist Albert Goodwin is probably not, on balance, the A. Goodwin of Solomon Negima's testimonial, even if it would make for a good story. Dead ends such as these are disappointing, but the others more than compensate.

Among the group guided by Solomon Negima in March 1895, some may be Woolrych Perowne's lecturers. The most likely candidate is the Very Reverend Ernest Henry Cornwall Lewis-Crosby (1864–1961), Dean of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. As an eminent clergyman and a seasoned traveller, he certainly fit the bill. The 1895 trip was his first visit to Palestine. That same year, he became clerical secretary to the Irish Auxiliary of the Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews (Hodges 1963: 16–18). He returned in 1902, on an inspection tour of the mission stations in Palestine on behalf of the Society. He was also Honorary Secretary of the Dublin University Mission in Fuh Kien, China, from 1895 to 1904, and from 1915 to 1954 was Chairman of the Church of Ireland Jews' Society. Whether he already had an interest in Jewish communities in Ireland and Palestine – and their evangelization – before his visit of 1895, or whether this interest arose from the trip, we do not know. Although he did not publish any written record of his travels in the Holy Land, he did use them as material for sermons, and to entertain and engage his parishioners in Dublin. 'His experience was greatly enriched by these expeditions, expensive in those days. He registered impressions readily and retained them, not for storage purposes, but to interest less fortunate people who were under his care' (Hodges 1963: 13). Rev. Charles T. Walker, of Augusta, Georgia, also shared his stories of the Holy Land primarily through talks and conversation (SN 43; Chapter 5). Irish President Éamon de Valera knew Lewis-Crosby during the last years of his life, and wrote an introduction to his 1963 biography (Hodges 1963).

Another possible lecturer is Rev. James Wells (1838–1924), a Minister in the Free Church of Scotland. Like Lewis-Crosby, he was involved in the movement to convert the Jews to Christianity – although, on his first visit to Palestine in 1884, he at first had difficulty finding any. At Nazareth they were told that there had been a Jew, but that he had left (Wilson and Wells 1895: 26). The Sea of Galilee Mission was established in 1885, and in 1891 Rev. Wells returned to find it a major provider of medical care for the region (Wilson and Wells 1895: 35–9). He makes no mention of any actual converts. ‘Some young Jews in Safed have moved Christwards,’ he claims, somewhat optimistically, ‘but they have paused on the threshold of decision’ (Wilson and Wells 1895: 84).

Rev. Wells corresponded with W. M. Flinders Petrie, the great archaeologist, and Sir Laurence Oliphant, a prominent British resident in Palestine. Oliphant had a number of connections to clients of Solomon Negima. His sister-in-law, Jamesina Waller, travelled with Solomon in April and May 1895 (SN 3), just after Woolrych Perowne’s party of the same year. Rev. J. Ll. Thomas (SN 32), guided by Solomon in 1889, was tattooed by the same Jerusalem artist as Oliphant (Thomas 1890: 75). Late nineteenth-century Palestine was a small world. Petrie gave Rev. Wells advice on travelling in Palestine: ‘I think you had better carry your gold loose in a roll of brown paper in your pocket, so that you can drop it in an instant, if attacked by thieves, and pick it up again afterwards, as I did. It can also be buried so easily in the tent at night, just under the edge of some box’ (Wells 1896: 23).

In 1896, after his return from Palestine with Woolrych Perowne’s (and Solomon Negima’s) party, Wells published his *Travel-Pictures from Palestine*. This is not simply an account of the 1895 trip. It includes incidents from each of his two previous visits to the Holy Land, and there is seldom any chronological reference to orient the reader. Wells found Palestine much changed between his first visit in 1884 and his most recent in 1895:

Though a few years ago Palestine could not boast a single wheelbarrow, the pilgrim now travels from Jaffa to Jerusalem in a comfortable railway carriage. At Jerusalem railway station he may hail a cab or omnibus, and drive along a good macadamed road to Hebron. The cabman will pull up at such a hotel as you may find in our country towns.

Wells 1896: 167

There are occasional mentions of dragomans, such as the one reluctant to ‘venture undefended among the modern Philistines, who are as turbulent as

their forefathers' (Wells 1896: 23). On another occasion, a wrong turning provides an opportunity for some Biblical reflection: 'Our dragoman took us too far south, into a district which had probably been visited by Abraham and Isaac when they were the guests of Abimelech' (Wells 1896: 35). Although we know that Woolrych Perowne's parties travelled in comfort, in the tents supplied by Alexander Howard, on a previous occasion Rev. Wells had had his romantic notions of the simple life of the Arabs quashed: 'My first night in their tents did not whet my desire. You soon master the peculiarities of their simple life, and you pass through its fancied poetry into its squalid prose' (Wells 1896: 117).

Some incidents may be anchored more securely to the 1895 trip. Frederick J. Bliss, who travelled with and lectured to the 1894 Woolrych Perowne tour, makes an appearance, when Wells, with his unspecified 'party' visits Bliss's excavations at Lachish-Tell el Hesi (on which Rev. J. Ll. Thomas of SN 32 later wrote an article). Bliss explained the stratigraphy of the site to the group, showing the distinction in colour and texture between levels of different dates in a section through the mound. The local dragoman was unimpressed:

Our intelligent dragoman smiled, and declared that he could show us ever so many places of the same kind, which could never have been the sites of great cities. He maintained with some show of reason, that if he dug up the soil anywhere, he would find as much variety of colour as we had seen in the mound. He thought that the explorers were under a delusion, and I fear that two or three in our party agreed with him.

Wells 1896: 43

Was this Solomon Negima? It is certainly possible, since he was with the group in question, but impossible to prove. Bliss's mentor and Wells' correspondent, Flinders Petrie, was not keen on being visited by tourists and their dragomans in the field, although Bliss himself seems not to have minded (Mairs and Muratov 2015: 45–6).

The rest of the tour group were people of private means, interesting accomplishments, or both. Rev. Dr John Howard Swinstead (1864–1924) was the author of several works on the church in England and in Sweden, where he spent some time as English chaplain in Stockholm. He also worked as an itinerant missionary among the travellers of Dorset and Wiltshire. E. T. Tyson, Justice of the Peace, lived at Wood Hall, in Cockermouth in Cumbria. He was

an active member of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society, who published several pieces in their *Transactions*. Alfred Mercer Corah (1870–1911), of Scraptoft Hall, Leicester, was a member of the family that owned N. Corah and Sons, the manufacturer of textiles and hosiery, which was at one time the largest knitwear producer in Europe. James Outram (1864–1925) was Curate of Thorpe in Norfolk, now a suburb of Norwich, from 1893 to 1895. He had a breakdown from overwork and went to Canada in 1900 to recover. The recovery was evidently a success, since he became a famous mountaineer and author (*In the Heart of the Canadian Rockies* was published in 1905). In 1912, he succeeded to the Outram baronetcy. He is probably the only one of Solomon Negima's clients to have had a mountain named in his honour: Mount Outram, in Banff National Park.

More information is often preserved on American travellers, since their passport applications and passenger manifests from the transatlantic portion of their voyage are usually available. Grace Weston (1870–) submitted her passport application on 23 May 1894,² in anticipation of a long trip to Europe and the Mediterranean; she arrived back in New York on 18 May 1895. She lived at 76 Franklin Street, Newton, Massachusetts, and is described as twenty-four years old, five feet seven and a half inches in height, with a low, broad forehead, brown eyes, medium nose, straight, medium mouth, short, round chin, brown hair, light complexion and an oval face. She was a teacher. Back in Newton, she was a leading member of the Social Science Club, an organization established by local women to debate the social issues of the day, and take positive action. The Club was involved in local education in a number of ways: setting up a vocational school, funding milk for school children, and establishing a scholarship programme for local girls – which continues to this day. Grace Weston appears to have been a vocal debater and campaigner: she was affectionately known by other members of the Social Science Club as the 'Town Crier' (Stout 2011: 34). She wrote a report in 1911–12 on the local nursery's work with the children of Italian immigrants. There was also time for cultural pursuits. In 1899, Miss Weston ran a literary symposium, at which she spoke on 'Tendencies in Modern Novel Writing'.

With travellers of such varied interests and experiences (albeit all white, middle- or upper-class Britons or Americans), conversation on the train journey from Jaffa to Jerusalem or the ride to the Dead Sea can never have flagged.

What did Woolrych Perowne himself think of his 1895 visit to Palestine? Aside from advertising (which may have been produced by a copy writer), he has not left much in the way of a literary legacy. He edited the 'Army Series' of French and German novels for the publishers Williams and Norgate in the early 1890s, which reveals more about his military interests than his literary ones. He did, however, publish one travel book. In 1897, he led a group of twenty-five on a tour through the Caucasus and Central Asia. *Russian Hosts and English Guests in Central Asia* (Perowne 1898) is his 'narrative of a "personally-conducted" tour'. It is uncharacteristically lacking in advertising spin. In fact, many throw-away comments offer little incentive to the reader to embark on a trip to the sites of his own tours. He thinks that 'no city in the world probably suffers so much on a closer inspection as Constantinople' (Perowne 1898: 1). Faced with bad food in Central Asia, he claims that 'the only spot where the meat is as poor is Jerusalem, and perhaps it is not saying too much if I give the palm to the Holy City for badness' (Perowne 1898: 43). He makes passing reference to having seen 'a dance of the fellaheen outside Jerusalem' (Perowne 1898: 20). All in all, the Holy Land does not appear to have left him particularly enchanted. At Bukhara, although 'one is naturally prepared for a certain amount of Orientalism after Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus and Constantinople' (Perowne 1898: 126–7), he finds the city's architecture impressive. He makes little mention of the travellers on his tour. A Miss Carey and Hon. A Capell are thanked for sharing their photographs of the trip; the participation of Sir Alexander Buchan-Hepburn and Mr. F. H. Skrine, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, is reported in *The Colonies and India* for 13 November 1897. Whether some Turkish or Central Asian dragoman kept a book with their signatures, we do not know.

Alone Through Syria

Independent travellers

The arrangements offered by operators such as Thomas Cook & Son, J. T. Woolrych Perowne and Henry Gaze made foreign travel safe and affordable for thousands who would never otherwise have had the opportunity to see the sights of the Holy Land. Not all travellers, however, wished to attach themselves to a group. For some, it was a matter of snobbery against mass tourism. Others enjoyed the flexibility of travelling independently, or sought a more 'authentic' experience. Solomon Negima had many clients who chose to travel alone, or in small groups. It is primarily to these that we can imagine him presenting his testimonial book as a guarantee of his services.

Travelling independently was perceived by many as more dangerous than travelling with an established operator's scheduled group tours. In some parts of the country, it was still necessary to pay local sheikhs for their protection. In 1886, Rolla Floyd conducted Rose Buckingham and her family through Palestine. Rose came from a prominent Chicago family and would later marry Harry Selfridge, the founder of the London department store. Once locals found out that the Buckinghams were very wealthy, a local sheikh, Mustifa, personally took on the role of escort.

Sheik Mustifa soon observed that Rose was a good horsewoman and resolved to play a practical joke. He secretly took Rose into his confidence and told her to remove her feet from her stirrups. In those days all ladies rode sidesaddle and wore flowing riding habits. Rose was quite thrilled with the idea and acquiesced in this escapade. Sheik Mustifa lagged behind for a bit and when they came to a level stretch of road appropriate for his demonstration of Arabic horsemanship, he came forward at full gallop. As he passed Rose, he grabbed her around her waist and, placing her before him

on his horse, continued his wild race, his bright-colored kaffiyeh and abayah waving behind in the wind as though in farewell to the rest of the party. Mrs. Buckingham and the Chandlers imagined Rose had been kidnaped, and they followed in pursuit. When Sheik Mustifa felt he had continued the joke long enough, he retraced his tracks with a radiant Rose. It is the kind of humor an Arab delights in.

Vester 1951: 150–1

Sheik Mustifa and Miss Buckingham's joke cannot have been very funny to her mother. Bertha Vester, who knew Rolla Floyd in later life and was told the story by him, does not record whether the dragoman took the joke well either. Being kidnapped by a wild Arab sheikh was something that some travellers feared was within the realms of possibility (and which later, as in E. M. Hull's novel *The Sheik* and the 1921 Hollywood film starring Rudolph Valentino, became the subject of romantic fantasy).

Solomon Negima was wary of leaving his clients unchaperoned, as the case of Ellen E. Miller shows. Miss Miller is the first of three case studies explored in this chapter. The second, that of the Fargo sisters and their friends, shows that perils were not always simply in the imagination of concerned friends and family at home. Even in the absence of human dangers, illness and injury were real threats, and could have tragic outcomes. In the final section, I review Marmaduke Pickthall's memoir of how, as a teenager, he set off for Palestine alone and without, it must be said, much of an idea of what he was doing. Pickthall was lucky: he found kind local friends, who may have included Solomon Negima, who took him under their wings, and he developed a lasting affinity for Arab and Muslim culture. But, in middle age, he was able to reflect on his own vulnerability. He also developed opinions on the vulnerability of others. In the *Washington Times* for 9 April 1904 there appeared a short note under the headline 'A Warning':

Marmaduke Pickthall, whose story, 'Said, the Fisherman,' gives such a vivid picture of Turkish Palestine, has a warning to women who visit Oriental countries. He says, 'If European ladies knew how the Arab speaks of them and had heard the stories of easy conquests I have heard in coffee houses, they would not be so familiar with their dragomans. Their quite innocent coquetry with the English speaking natives of the country has often sickened me, knowing the Arab's inability to understand such freedom.'¹

What did Sheik Mustifa have to say later about his innocent ‘kidnapping’ of Rose Buckingham?

Ellen E. Miller

On my arrival at Jaffa I engaged Solomon Negim as my personal attendant & after a two months’ tour in Palestine I have pleasure in testifying to his constant honesty, straightforwardness & general good conduct.

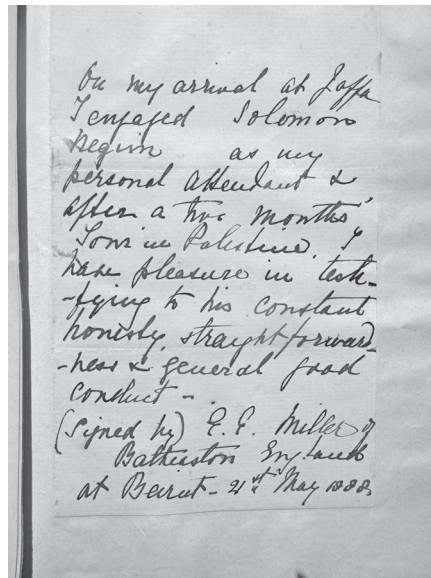
(Signed by) E. E. Miller

Batheaston England

At Beirut 21st May 1888

SN 48; see Fig. 12

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the middle-class tourist who visited the East and upon their return published a book of their observations and musings became a cliché. Some readers lost their patience, such as the reviewer of M. L. M. Carey’s *Four Months in a Dahabëeh*, who thought that ‘this is just one of those books which ought to exist, but in manuscript only’ (*The Spectator*, 8 June 1863; Carey 1863; Mairs and Muratov 2015: 22–5).



On my arrival at Jaffa
I engaged Solomon
Negim as my
personal attendant &
after a two months'
tour in Palestine I
have pleasure in test-
ifying to his constant
honesty, straight forward-
ness & general good
conduct -
(Signed by) E. E. Miller
Batheaston England
at Beirut - 21st May 1888

Figure 12 SN 48: Letter from Ellen E. Miller.

Ellen E. Miller's *Alone Through Syria* (1891) was in a different class (Kuehn 2014: 99–106). It boasted an introduction by A. H. Sayce, the prominent scholar of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia – and, incidentally, one of Mr. Woolrych Perowne's guest speakers on his 'Co-operative Educational Tours' (see Chapter 3) – who praised her independence, sympathy for the Middle East and its inhabitants, and the freshness of her account (although most of the introduction is devoted to his own thoughts on the character of the Egyptians, which are very much of their time). The book also received positive reviews in the press. The *Guardian* (3 June 1891) drew attention to what Miss Miller's journey 'alone' amounted to, implicitly agreeing with her definition:

She is probably the only English lady who has ever gone "alone though Syria." This achievement was, however, not the result of any boastful self-confidence, but merely of her wish to move leisurely and independently, without the distraction or constraint of a large party of companions. To do this she engaged an attendant at Jaffa, by name Solomon, who could talk English freely, and who proved a useful and well-conducted attendant all through her somewhat adventurous journey. No tent was taken, so Miss Miller had to put up with the accommodations of the country, which were sometimes rather trying. . . . [O]n the whole, she is to be congratulated for having got off so well.

Another of Solomon's clients, William Stone, clarified that 'When . . . I say I travelled alone I don't mean that in the East I went without a dragoman' (Baerlein 1951: 143).

Although Miss Miller's understanding of what it meant to be 'alone' would not agree with modern definitions, in a comparative sense, she was. Census records, for all their succinctness, can be eloquent. Ellen Elizabeth Miller and her family appear in the first modern English census, of 1841, and she is recorded until the most recent publicly-accessible census, that of 1911. (The date of her death is not known.) These records offer an insight into what it meant to her to be 'alone'. She was the second of four children, born in Woolwich, Kent, on 4 May 1839 and baptized at the church of St. Mary Magdalen. The 1841 census lists the profession of her father, John Robert Miller (1801–82), as 'schoolmaster'. Her mother's name was also Ellen (c. 1808–before 1871). In addition to her elder brother, John Robert Charlesworth (1837–1914), a 25-year-old women named Emily Miller (perhaps her father's

sister), six male and female servants, an assistant schoolmaster, three of his dependents and an additional servant, there were forty-one pupils, all boys in their mid-teens, living at the same address. The pupils at Mr Miller's school on Woolwich Common came from families of comfortable means, and it was evidently well regarded. One former student was Major-General Sir Edward Anson (1826–1925), the last Lieutenant-Governor of Penang.

By the time of the 1851 census, Ellen E. Miller was living in a smaller, and it must be presumed quieter, household. The family were now in Gloucestershire, and her father was listed as a 'gentleman'. Their circumstances had changed, perhaps through an inheritance. Ellen now had two sisters, Constancia, aged eight, and Matilda, one. Her elder brother was attending Cheltenham College, and in 1855 would go up to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. There were four servants, including a nurse for the baby, as well as a governess, Blanch Robinson, who was from Woolwich, the family's former home. By 1861 the family were living at Corston Lodge in Corston, Somerset, where they remained for some years. Ellen's elder brother was now at Oxford, and was later ordained and served in a series of rural parishes in what appears to have been an uneventful career. The three daughters were still at home. There was a governess, Loretta E. M. Hall, for Matilda, and three female servants. Ann C. Patch, the daughter of a London barrister born in Bengal, was staying with the Millers. She was the same age as Ellen, probably a friend. Much the same situation prevailed in 1871. John Robert Miller was recorded in the census return again as a 'gentleman', but this was crossed out and replaced with the grander 'house & landowner'. Mrs Miller had passed away. The daughters are 'annuitants', living off a private income. There are four servants: a cook, coachman, parlourmaid and housemaid. In 1881, the Millers, reduced in numbers, lived in Christchurch, Hampshire. Constancia had left home, but there were still three servants and a visitor, Jane Collett, aged sixty. Mr Miller died the following year, which is presumably what left Ellen free to travel in the latter part of the 1880s. In later censuses, she was head of her own household with at least two live-in servants, listed as 'living on own means'. Her last known address, at 21 Cavendish Road in Bournemouth in 1911, was a spacious home for a single woman, with ten rooms.

Ellen E. Miller had never been truly alone in her life. Her understanding of what solitude meant was shaped by her financially-secure, genteel,

middle-class background, in which she was always surrounded by family members, servants and visiting acquaintances. Her father lived into his eighties, as a widower, and Ellen's continued residence at home with him and departure abroad in the years after his death suggests that she was fulfilling the role of carer and companion. It is easy to see why, as a capable and independent-minded woman, she was keen to experience Syria 'alone'.

Her own explanation of why she chose to travel as she did does not, on the other hand, show any disapproval of organized tourism, in which she saw both advantages and disadvantages. She was not averse to 'roughing it': 'I found the air of Palestine particularly pleasant and salubrious, and during nine weeks' stay all went well [in] spite of a little roughing, which often does one more good than harm' (Miller 1891: xiv). But nor was she above a little comfort and convenience when it suited her.

In Egypt, Messers. Cook may be said to reign supreme as agents of locomotion; and the solitary traveller, who has not an unfathomable purse, will be as glad as I was to avail himself of their comfortable steamers which, during the season, constantly navigate the Nile. But in Palestine the case is somewhat different. Excellent as their arrangements for the convenience of tourists are in that country also, yet, to not a few persons, it will be uncongenial to visit its hallowed scenes in some haste and in company with strangers; so that, unless a small private party can be arranged, the independent line will probably commend itself to many, and I can testify from experience that it need not prove a more expensive way than the other of seeing the Holy Land.

Miller 1891: xiv–xv

Ellen E. Miller met Solomon Negima at Howard's Hotel in Jaffa in March 1888. Alexander Howard, né Iskander Awwad in Malta, of Maronite Lebanese descent, had been a dragoman for Thomas Cook and Son, and later opened hotels in Jaffa and Jerusalem (Gibson et al. 2013: 58–64). Several of Solomon's testimonial letters are written on his headed notepaper. The Fargo party, discussed in the following section, also stayed there. Miss Miller had originally intended to stay at the Méditerrané, but this was full and she ended up at Howard's, which turned out to be a fortunate turn of events, since the proprietor 'proved my kind friend and helper'. She was instantly captivated by Jaffa. Howard 'installed me at once in a charming terraced room at the back of the house, looking over an

extensive orange-grove the sweetness of which was almost overpowering. How delightful it was to settle myself in this haven of rest, after the excitement and noise of the last few hours, and to realize quietly *where* I was!’ (Miller 1891: 143).

After a night’s reflection on her surroundings, in which she at once found Biblical echoes, there was business to attend to. Just as a passing tourist convoy, like those discussed in the previous chapter, confirmed her own decision to travel ‘alone’, enter Solomon Negima:

Next morning, whilst I was enjoying my breakfast and the lovely view, Mr. Howard entered, and, after a graceful Oriental salutation, asked me to accompany him to a room facing the street. Hence I beheld a curious and interesting scene. A party of fifty tourists of both sexes, mounted on a promiscuous-looking selection of horses and ponies, were just jogging off down the street. The heads of many of the equestrians were protected against the sun by head-gears more ingenious than ornamental, but which lent variety to the cavalcade.² The ride to Jerusalem being too long to accomplish in one day, they were all to sleep at Ramleh, arriving at the Holy City on the following evening.

How thankful I felt that *I* was not one of that heterogeneous party, but should be free as air while in Palestine, to come and go as I would! No waiting companions, no puffing steam-engine, no inexorable “conductor” to hurry me unduly forward! These poor travellers could scarcely have had time to feel that they had really arrived in Jaffa, before receiving orders for the early morning start, with the prospect before them of two long days’ riding on horses which they had had no opportunity of trying previously.

My landlord at once saw that I should require some help in making a start. As he spoke English fluently, I had no difficulty in getting him to understand that my first requirement would be a trustworthy man of well-known probity and good behaviour, whom, though I should need him as my guide, I should prefer to look upon as a servant receiving his weekly wage, rather than precisely as a dragoman. Fortunately he had a young man close at hand, who seemed likely to possess the needful qualities, and who owned the promising name of Solomon. I engaged him on Mr. Howard’s recommendation, and always found him respectful, well conducted, and strictly honest, though as a guide he was not always quite efficient, because at that time he knew but little about the north country.

Miller 1891: 144–5

Ellen E. Miller's is the earliest testimonial letter by a client in Solomon Negima's book. It is preceded only by the references from the Nile Expedition of 1884–5.³ Less than three years after returning from war in the Sudan, Solomon was either very new to the profession of dragoman (as Miss Miller's account suggests), or returning with new experiences of working in difficult conditions and under the command of foreigners. It is in this light that I think their travels together should be viewed.

As I discussed in Chapter 1, Solomon told Miss Miller something of his background, such as his education at a German school and service with the British in the Sudan. He even affected a military costume and bearing, and wore his medals, prominently displayed on his army jacket. This was in contrast to what Miss Miller viewed as his 'timidity' with regard to her personal safety – but to an outside reader the source of the misunderstanding seems clear. Solomon believed that discretion was the better part of valour. He may have been her servant, but he was also her protector, something which Miss Miller herself owned when she referred to him as 'my true and efficient body-guard' (Miller 1891: 162). With the Transport and Commissariat Corps in the Sudan, he had built makeshift fortifications and defended the vulnerable baggage train against swift-moving dervish attackers. Now he was responsible for the safety of a lone Englishwoman, even if she was perhaps past the age of being swept onto a sheikh's saddle. (Miss Miller spent her fiftieth birthday travelling with Solomon.⁴) She wanted to experience Palestine off the beaten track, away from the tourist hordes, and sometimes she wished to be absolutely, rather than comparatively, alone. There were, inevitably, clashes.

Miss Miller was not without insight into Solomon's motivations, and not above occasionally admitting that he was right. 'I cannot say that Solomon impressed me with *his* valour; indeed, his advice to me was always of a most timid character, and one which I had constantly to combat. Doubtless this timidity was prompted by the sense of his responsible position towards me' (Miller 1891: 163). Several episodes in *Alone Through Syria* are all the more darkly comic for the fact that they could have been tragic.

What drew Miss Miller into Solomon's definition of 'trouble' so frequently was her desire to experience novelties of local Palestinian life, and also to pass time in silent reflection at sites of religious significance. On the Mount of Olives, she asked to be left alone, without transportation back into

Jerusalem, despite Solomon's concerns about both harassment and the strong sun:

Solomon seemed to regard the idea as impracticable, not to say preposterous. If I proposed dismissing donkey and boy, while he remained somewhere in my vicinity, he would say that I should never see my saddle again! If, on the other hand, I suggested his return with them to Jerusalem, he would draw a picture of ill-conditioned Arabs coming down from a cluster of neighbouring hovels to molest my solitude! Solomon was certainly a nervous man. I must admit, that on the one occasion when I made a solitary return from the mount on foot, I found the walk very fatiguing and irksome, under the burning sun.

Miller 1891: 181

At Jericho, she became ill from the hot weather, to Solomon's concern. Later, by the river Jordan:

I was thankful to alight, and sought out a cool secluded spot on the river-bank, where I requested to be left undisturbed for an hour at least. Poor Solomon was again very uneasy; I fear he thought that I was contemplating suicide! I had previously spoken about bathing in the Jordan, and here its banks looked certainly very steep and dangerous!

Miller 1891: 206

Poor Solomon, indeed. There are further occasions in which it is difficult to know how much naïveté there was in Miss Miller's confidence, such as when she was curious to peer into a Bedouin tent:

[We] passed a tent which was partially raised on one side, so that I could see its interior occupants. I suppose they can only obtain air and light in this manner. How I longed to enter! But Solomon forbade;— I should probably have got there more than I wished for!

Miller 1891: 268

Another occasion, when she accidentally gate-crashed a local wedding, may have put her at very real personal risk:

On my appearance, I, instead of the bride, became for a moment the centre of the demonstration! The wild creatures joined hands and made a circle round me, performing a kind of dance to the music of harsh yells, among which the word "bakshish" was easily distinguishable. Their appearance was

not prepossessing, nor their expression amiable; the natives about Jericho are said to belong to a very vicious, low type. I was secretly rejoicing in the good luck which had led me into this novel scene, when cautious Solomon came up, whispering that I had better get out at once, before the *cordon* became too tight round me! The move did seem a desirable one, as I had no intention of giving them anything, even supposing I had coins enough to satisfy all; so, making a rush, I broke through the ranks.

Miller 1891: 194

Miss Miller, on the whole, was not without insight into her own vulnerability. She does, however, seem to have rejoiced in taking an element of personal risk, which put Solomon Negima in a professional dilemma: obey his client's wishes, or insist that she defer to his sense of what was and was not safe.

As in other travel books, Solomon is an important secondary character in Miss Miller's *Alone Through Syria*. She sketches his life history and personality – as she saw it – in some detail, and there are numerous revealing episodes. On a practical level, she also grants us some insight into what Solomon's role as dragoman involved. At Jaffa, one of the things that she had noticed about the large group of tourists setting out for Jerusalem was that they had not had the opportunity of trying out their horses. Solomon was to take an active role in ensuring that Miss Miller had a horse that suited her:

My dragoman, who, since his removal from familiar home-surroundings and the eye of his patron, seemed more than ever to realize the responsibility of his charge had received full instructions as to the kind of animal he was to look out for my own riding. It was to be neither a slug nor a runaway, neither a shier nor a stumbler!

Miller 1891: 223; see also 308–10

Once they stopped for the evening, Solomon's duties were not at an end. He had, on several occasions, to help Miss Miller communicate with a maidservant who did not speak any English and who was 'terrified' of her mistress (Miller 1891: 162). Since they were travelling without tents, it was sometimes difficult to find a suitable place to stay for the night. In Nazareth, Miss Miller was able to stay at an orphanage run by the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East, but Solomon was not allowed inside. 'I was rather inconvenienced thereby, as I had to descend an enormous flight of stone steps whenever I wanted to parley with him' (Miller 1891: 239). Solomon was good

at talking their way into places where they were unwelcome. In a town which had no other suitable places to stay, he found Miss Miller accommodation at a Roman Catholic monastery that had been forbidden to accept Protestant lodgers by Papal decree, and which moreover had recently been cheated by an Englishman's dragoman. He secured her night's accommodation by revealing his own Catholic faith and talking scripture with the abbot, and by promising that Miss Miller would pay for her accommodation in person (Miller 1891: 270–1). Occasionally, Solomon was able to have a 'night off'. At a grand private home a day's ride from Baalbek, Miss Miller wanted water and a towel to wash herself, and could not find anyone to help her.

Loud laughter and talking could be heard below in the distance. Solomon was evidently having fine fun with his Lebanon friends; but meantime, I was quite the "forlorn lady" in my lofty solitary tower, and had to clap my hands and shout on the terrace for some time before I could attract any notice.

Miller 1891: 314

The whole family duly piled into her room 'all brimful of smiles and gestures' to see what she needed.

Solomon, despite Miss Miller's occasional complaints, was already very good at what he did. But there were many good dragomans, and the competition for clients was fierce. As Solomon did not yet know Damascus well, he engaged a local dragoman named George Nafâcha to escort Miss Miller around the sights. He pressed her to take him back to England as her servant, and 'I might no doubt have found him a real boon, could I have made sure beforehand that, under our leaden skies and chilly atmosphere, he would not soon be pining for his own bright Damascus' (Miller 1891: 308). George Nafâcha was not a threat to Solomon. Another dragoman was. This man, whose name is not given, attached himself to the party. Miss Miller, who found it interesting to talk to him, encouraged him, innocent of the effect on Solomon:

I did not notice at the time that during our conversation Solomon had turned sulky and retired well into the background, leaving me in the hands of my new friend . . . though it never occurred to me then, as it evidently did to Solomon, that this man was trying to insinuate himself into my favour in the hope that I might take him on instead of my present attendant, who was, as the other mildly intimidated, not well acquainted with the north country.

Next day Solomon expressed himself to me in no measured terms about this “rascal,” who, he declared, should feel the full force of his indignation when they should meet again in Jerusalem! I suggested the impropriety of a Christian, as he was, cherishing such vindictive sentiments; also the desirability of his trying to keep in check his too impetuous temper. I fear, however, that my words failed to impress him, for he replied that he gloried in his temper, and that had he not “a good hot one” he should not consider himself “half a man”! I was glad that *I* had not to experience its potency.

Miller 1891: 225–6

Professional jealousy had suddenly made him reveal the strength and determination that Miss Miller had mistakenly assumed he lacked.

After nine weeks together, Solomon Negima and Ellen E. Miller parted ways at the Hotel Victoria in Beirut on 21 May 1888. ‘Then had to come partings; the dismissal of the horses and their keeper; and soon after, the good-bye to my trusty Solomon, who conveyed back with him to Mr. Howard at Jerusalem my well-worn and much-appreciated saddle’ (Miller 1891: 325). Did Solomon breathe a sigh of relief, as his client sailed for Greece on the *Rio Grande*?

Back in England, Miss Miller was no longer ‘alone’. She lived with servants, and the pattern of visiting among friends revealed in earlier census records doubtless continued. *Alone Through Syria* is dedicated to a Mrs Lane, ‘the kind friend who urged me to publish the following pages from my rough notes, and without whose aid they could not have been completed’. The book’s introduction by A. H. Sayce, and its admiring reviews, indicate at least a modicum of literary success. There was also a new friend, who had travelled with her all through Palestine with Solomon, and returned with her to England. Passing through the Egyptian delta town of Zagazig, en route to the Suez Canal and Jaffa, Miss Miller did not have time to stop and explore the local ruins at her leisure:

I had to content myself with purchasing a few small unearthed treasures which vendors were offering for sale on the station platform. I was pleased thus to become the owner of a very sanctimonious and ancient-looking little cat-statuettes, which had doubtless aided the devotions of some pious soul in life, and, further, had been imagined to be able, by its presence, to hallow the tomb of the departed; it is quite perfect, and very curious.

Miller 1891: 119

The Fargos

Howard's Hotels, Jerusalem and Jaffa.

Alexander Howard, Carriage Proprietor and General Travelling Contractor
to all parts of Palestine and Syria.

Jerusalem, Feb. 18th 1895.

This is to certify that we take pleasure in recommending Solomon N. Negima, who has been our dragoman and guide around the "Holy Land" during our time in it.

We have found him a well informed, intelligent man, thoroughly understanding and familiar with the history of the country, both Biblical and traditional.

We trust any who may employ him will find him equally satisfactory.

Anna E. Fargo

Bessie Tucker

Mame Fargo

Bessie Robinson

New York City

U.S.A.

SN 1; see Fig. 13

The letter pasted inside the front cover of Solomon Negima's book, over which he has written 'Testimonial Book of Dragoman Solomon N. Negima', is not the earliest. It does, however, bear a famous name, and it may have been deliberately selected for that reason, as the first a prospective client would see. William G. Fargo (1818–81) was the founder of Wells Fargo and of American Express. Fargo, North Dakota, now best known to many for the 1996 Cohen brothers film of the same name, was named after him. Anna and Mary 'Mame' Fargo were his granddaughters. Like Ellen E. Miller, they grew up in a large household, but their early lives were marked by family trauma, and their trip to Syria and Palestine had a tragic ending. Less than a month after they parted from Solomon in good spirits, their friend Bessie Tucker was dead.

Once again, census records are revealing – the 1875 New York State Census all the more so, since it gives a value for the Fargo clan's brick and stone-built mansion in Buffalo of \$500,000, an immense sum. Fifteen people lived in the house: a full complement of servants, the Fargo girls' grandparents, two aunts

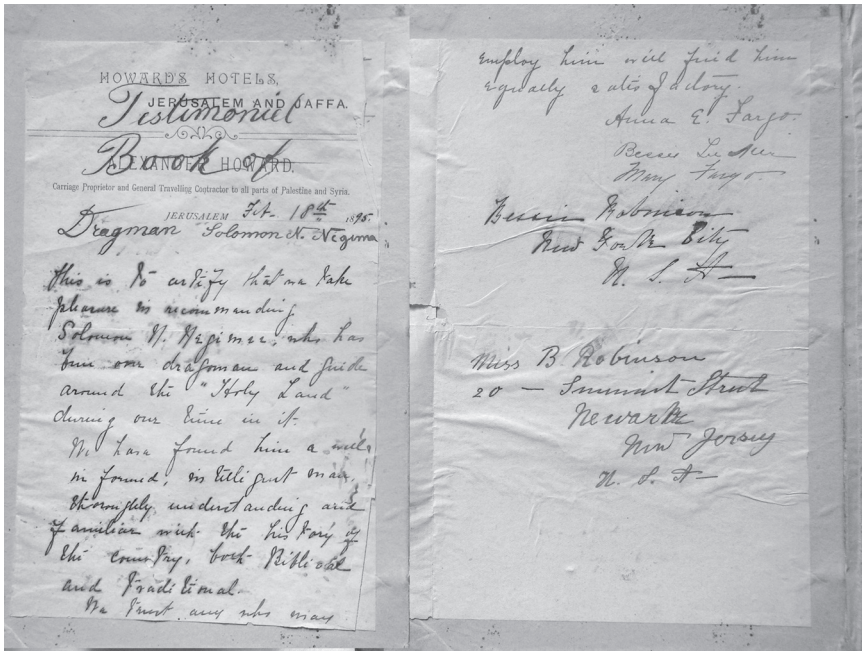


Figure 13 SN 1: Letter from the Fargo twins, Bessie Tucker and Bessie Robinson.

and an uncle. The age of the twins, Anna E. and Mary C., is given, precisely, as two years and four months. In the 1880 national census, the twins are still recorded as living with their grandparents and two aunts (and eleven servants). Their parents are nowhere mentioned.

William G. Fargo Jr died on 30 December 1872, aged just twenty-seven, of an overdose of laudanum. On 27 January 1873, his widow Minerva Elizabeth, née Prendergast, gave birth to twins, Anna Ella Prendergast and Mary Carver Prendergast Fargo. Minerva died on 11 October of the same year, at the age of twenty-five. The twins' father had not left a will, but their mother, shortly before she died, appointed her own mother, Mrs Mary Sexton Prendergast, as guardian of her infant daughters. Two days later, before Minerva was even dead, William G. Fargo Sr served a citation on Mrs Prendergast, in an attempt to be made guardian of the twins.

The following events were played out in a court of law – and in the pages of the *New York Times*. The case reached its conclusion at the Superior Court in Buffalo in February 1884, in front of a crowd of spectators. The twins were

eleven years old, old enough to understand something of what was going on. Years of bitter struggle had stripped the two grandmothers of whatever social compunction they may ever have felt to be polite about one another in public. Mrs Prendergast, while she admitted that the girls had always lived with their paternal grandparents, claimed that she had never relinquished her guardianship under law. Mrs Fargo disputed this, and moreover attacked her rival's character and soundness of mind. It was alleged that:

Mrs. Prendergast came to the house of Mrs. Fargo upon her invitation some months ago with the expressed object of making a brief visit; that being brought into contact with the twins she exercised divers arts and practices for the purpose of obtaining an influence over them; that she entertains spiritualistic beliefs, and that being influenced as she claims by direction from the spirit world against the wishes of Mrs. Fargo, disregarded the instructions of the regular medical attendant of the children and gave them divers prescriptions and remedies not prescribed by any physician, but prescribed, as Mrs. Prendergast claimed, under directions from the spirit world.

New York Times, 6 February 1884

Mrs Prendergast denied this and, in retaliation, claimed that Mrs Fargo had remarried after her husband's death against the wishes of her children and grandchildren – as indeed she had, in 1883, to Francis F. Fargo, a politician and journalist who was, strange though it may seem, no relation of her first husband. As with everything else to do with the Fargo family, the marriage was reported in the press, in terms which stopped just short of calling the second Mr Fargo a gold-digger. The *Daily Review* of Decatur, Illinois, called the marriage a 'social sensation', under the headline 'Cupid's Capers':

Bishop Cor and the Rev. Sidney Dealy performed the ceremony in the elegant residence of Mrs. Fargo, who is wealthy, her first husband having been a millionaire. She is 61 years old and the groom 59. Mrs. Fargo is well preserved and so is her husband, who is no connection of the other Fargo family. He is an ex-speaker of the California State Assembly, but is without means. The match has been steadfastly opposed by the bride's family, who have used every obstacle to prevent their marriage.

Daily Review, 10 August 1883

Having finished trashing her rival's unsuitable marriage, Mrs Prendergast added that Mrs Fargo (twice over) was 'a woman of little education and culture,

of bad temper, and of irregular habits; that her own children do not visit her' (*New York Times*, 7 February 1884).

There was no way a custody battle over the grandchildren of William G. Fargo could not degenerate into a dispute about money. Mrs Prendergast accused Mrs Fargo of siphoning off funds from the substantial sum that the twins' grandfather had left for their maintenance. Mr Fargo's will was read out in court: he had given his wife custody of Anna and Mary and left \$80,000 for their support – on the condition that their custody was not handed over to anyone else while they were still minors. Mrs Fargo therefore had a financial, as well as an emotional, incentive to keep the children with her. Mr Locke, the Fargo family attorney, told the court that Mr Fargo's estate amounted to one million dollars, and that the twins were heiresses to a substantial fortune: 'The children were accustomed to taking trips to the seaside, and were brought up surrounded with elegance and enjoyed every advantage. The amount of property which I am sure the children will have coming to them when of age will be about \$300,000 each' (*New York Times*, 16 February 1884). Justice Smith of the Superior Court ruled that Mrs Prendergast was the twins' legal guardian, but that since they had lived with Mrs Fargo since they were infants, and were content there, it was in their best interests to remain where they were. Custody was awarded to Mrs Fargo, but Mrs Prendergast was to be permitted access (*New York Times*, 20 February 1884). One can only imagine what visits must have been like.

When Mrs Fargo died in July 1890, Mrs Prendergast did not take custody of the girls; we do not know if she tried. Instead, the New York State Census of 1892 found them living with a young couple in their twenties, the Tanners, their newborn daughter – and just one servant. A little further digging through court papers and newspaper reports makes the reason for this new arrangement clear. Edward E. Tanner was the attorney who represented Anna and Mary in further legal battles over the Fargo estate after their aunt Georgia died in 1892. Until they came of age, and with their maintenance dependent on their guardianship not being transferred outside the Fargo family, it made sense to leave them under the care of the lawyers.

It is impossible to know how far these events influenced the Fargo twins in leaving for an extended foreign tour as soon as they came into their inheritance, but in August of 1894, the year they turned twenty-one, we find them listed among the passengers of the *Labrador*, docking at Liverpool from New York

(see Fig.14). There are no other Fargos, Prendergasts or Tanners with them. We do, however, find Bessie Robinson and Bessie Tucker, the other signatories to the testimonial letter for Solomon Negima of the following February. The ages given in the passenger list are unreliable. Mary is listed as twenty-four and Anna as twenty-nine: impossible not just because they were twins, but because it is documented in multiple census records, and of course in accounts of Fargo vs. Prendergast, that they were born in January 1873. For this reason, we should take Bessie Tucker's given age of twenty-five and Bessie Robinson's of thirty-one with a pinch of salt.

Bessie Robinson is something of an enigma, and a reminder that not all of the clients who wrote letters for Solomon's book can be traced beyond its pages. She signs her name to the letter, the body of which was written by Anna Fargo, and writes 'New York City U.S.A.' Beneath this, in different handwriting, her name is repeated, with an address at 20 Summit Street in Newark, New Jersey. If we resort once again to the census records, there are too many Bessie ('Elizabeth') Robinsons, or variations of that name, in New York City to make a secure identification. The only plausible Bessie Robinson in Newark was living with her parents, Dr. Manning N. and Elizabeth Robinson, at the time of the 1895 New Jersey State Census, but she is too young to have travelled with the Fargo-Tucker party, since we know from events in Damascus that Bessie Robinson was old enough to be left in charge of a critically-ill patient. In the 1900 census, for which full addresses are given, a Collins family was living at 20 Summit Street in Newark. The neighbourhood was working-class, with small households and a high proportion of recent immigrants, many from Ireland. In the end, it is the appetite of the American public for society gossip that gives us our only other lead. On 8 April 1896, the social pages of the *San Francisco Call* reported that the Misses Fargo, Mrs Tucker (presumably the late Bessie Tucker's mother) and Miss Robinson were staying at the Palace Hotel in the city. So much for the enigmatic Bessie Robinson.

The story of the young women's trip to Europe and the Middle East is taken up by the fourth member of the party, Bessie Tucker, whose letters home to her family and friends are preserved by the Niagara County Historical Society. Local historian Ann Marie Linnabery has generously shared her research on these, and the other Tucker family papers, with me. Elizabeth 'Bessie' Tucker was born in 1871 (or 1873 – accounts vary), the fourth of six children of

[illegible]

Figure 14 The passengers of the *Labrador* arriving at Liverpool, 20 August 1894.

Henry C. Tucker, a lawyer, and his wife Clara. Although not as wealthy as the Fargos, the Tuckers did have illustrious connections. His obituary states that Mr Tucker was a close friend of President Grover Cleveland (*New York Times*, 9 June 1887). The family lived in Niagara County, not far from the Fargos in Buffalo, and Bessie was around the same age as the twins.

Bessie Tucker's voice comes through clearly in her letters. She bubbles over with enthusiasm for her new surroundings, and the letters are a playful jumble of underlined words and gratuitous punctuation marks. 'Forgive the battalion of interrogation points,' she writes unrepentantly to a friend ('Dearest Old Kate') from Paris just before Christmas 1894, 'they are the smallest portion of the army I have in reserve.' She refers to their party as 'the big four', and gives no indication that there was anyone else travelling with them. In a confusion over tickets en route from London to Paris, an old acquaintance of the Fargo twins' grandfather from Buffalo recognised the name on their trunks, and came to their assistance. Bessie is enchanted by everything – the fine weather, the cities of London, Brussels and Paris – with one exception: Belgian coffee. 'The coffee though here is as bad as every thing else is good. We simply can not drink it so take instead hot milk. It (the coffee) tastes exactly like smoked fish and tobacco, it is the worst I ever tried to swallow.' Fortunately, this was compensated for by 'the most thoroughly luscious breakfast,' at their accommodation, *Le Grand Hotel* in Brussels. She assures her mother that they 'are all thoroughly enjoying every thing.' Although they all took colds in Paris, she delighted in looking at the splendid views of the Eiffel Tower, Tuileries and Place de la Concorde from the window of the *Hotel Meurice*, where they had a warm fire and a piano to entertain themselves.

On 5 February 1895, we catch up with the 'big four' in Cairo, where the Fargos and Bessie Tucker applied for passports at the United States consulate. This was because, as Bessie later wrote to her Aunt Matilda, they had taken a spur-of-the-moment decision to travel to the Holy Land, something which had not been in their original plans. There is no equivalent surviving application for Bessie Robinson. Bessie Tucker brings a dash of rhetorical colour to her application by giving her height as a very precise 5 feet 3¾ inches, and describing her eyes as 'changeable gray' and her nose as 'retroussé'. Her hair was a more prosaic 'light brown' (see Fig. 15).⁵ The twins had blue eyes and brown hair, and at 5 feet 6 ½, Anna was very slightly taller than Mary.

[Edition of July, 1889]

NATIVE

Fee for Passport.....\$1.00
 Fee for filling out appli-
 cation in duplicate ..,50
 Fee for administering
 oath in duplicate.....,50

No. 49.ISSUED Feb 5 1895

I, Bessie Tucker a native and loyal citizen of the United States,
 do hereby apply to the Agency and Consulate General of the United States at.....
 for a passport for myself and wife..... and my minor children as follows:.....
 born at..... on the..... day of....., 189..., and

I solemnly swear that I was born at La Salle in the State
 of New York, on or about the 12 day of January 1883;
 that my father is a..... citizen of the United States; that I am domiciled in
 the United States, my permanent residence being at La Salle in the State
 of New York, where I follow the occupation of.....; that I
 left the United States on the 8 day of August 1894 and am now temporarily
 sojourning at Paris; that I am the bearer of Passport No.....,
 issued by..... on the..... day of..... 189...;
 that I intend to return to the United States June 1st with the purpose of
 residing and performing the duties of citizenship therein; and that I desire the passport for the
 purpose of travel.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United
 States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to
 the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of
 evasion: SO HELP ME GOD.

..... Bessie Tucker
 AGENCY & CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES AT.....

Sworn to before me, this 5th day of February 1895

DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT

Age: 22 years. Mouth: medium
 Stature: 5 feet, 3 1/2 inches, Eng. Chin: medium
 Forehead: medium Hair: light brown
 Eyes: clear, hazel gray Complexion: medium
 Nose: well-shaped Face: oval

IDENTIFICATION

I hereby certify that I know the above-named Bessie Tucker personally,
 and know him to be a native-born citizen of the United States, and that the facts stated in his
 affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

[Address of witness] Anna Eta Fargo
New York, N. Y.

NOTE.—This form is to be filled out in duplicate, one copy being retained on the files of the Legation and the other
 forwarded with the quarterly returns to the Department of State. It may be so filled out by the applicant, in which
 case no fee therefore is chargeable.

Figure 15 Bessie Tucker's passport application.

A few days later, on 10 February, Bessie Tucker wrote again to 'Dearest Old Kate' from Howard's Hotel in Jerusalem. She positively gushes about Egypt and their cruise along the Nile:

Happily as we all anticipate reaching home, there is a sincere regret mixed with it at the thought that this long dreamed of and perfectly ideal trip must end. We have had the most perfect time. Each country has been more full of interest and enjoyment than the last. Egypt surpassed in every way anything we had dared hope for. When you come abroad (and you will be coming soon – happy girl!) do go to Egypt, it is a perfect heaven on earth.⁶

After waxing lyrical about the Nile landscape, Bessie comes to a subject that interests her just as much, if not more: the young men they met on their cruise. There was 'the dearest boy of about 23' who was 'a perfect case, too full of life for any use' and 'bubbling over with devilry'. One suspects he was just Bessie Tucker's type. 'He dances divinely,' she adds, 'I must not forget that!'

In Jerusalem, the girls found old acquaintances and new opportunities to dance, but Bessie Tucker also found a moment to be overwhelmed by 'the very hills that stood here in the time of Christ' and pick a leaf from the Garden of Gethsemane as a souvenir for her friend. The next day, they were to set off with Solomon Negima to travel through the country: 'Tomorrow we go to Jericho! Half of the way we go on horse back, fancy your old Tucker on the back of an Arabian horse. The trip is about twenty-six miles – won't it be a lark?'

The trip was a very short one. On 16 February, two days before the party wrote their testimonial for Solomon Negima, they were already back at Howard's Hotel in Jerusalem, as may be seen from the letter Bessie Tucker wrote to her Aunt Matilda. She had more to say about Egypt, and about their excursion to Jericho on horse back:

Landing in Alexandria after five terrible days on the Mediterranean was like reaching an entirely different world. That first glimpse of lovely [...] Oriental life! The dock was full of dark [...] faces covered by real fezes or gay turbans and near and far were gracefully gowned figures of the Orient. The city, with its white and gold domes and turrets, glistened with almost unearthly splendor in the bright sunshine and the red flags floated out from the vessels mast against the deepest of blue skies. This picture, after five days of storms and constant sea sickness (in spite of Brush chemical) was

more welcome to us than freedom to a convict, and from the moment we stepped on Africa soil, it was one succession of delightful experiences. Our visit in Cairo was too lovely, combining everything a traveler's heart could wish.

It was on the Nile that we decided to [...] the Holy Land before returning to Europe and here we have been for a week now and have seen everything thanks to a splendid [...] and ten days of perfect weather. Last Monday we started to Jericho, one day trip over the mountains, half way in carriages and the other half on horse back. A day is spent in Jericho going on horse back to the [...] and the gardens and then the third day is spent returning to Jerusalem. We enjoyed it all beyond description (expression I mean) though it is not an easy trip – but it was fairly spicy (?) with excitement. At least ours was as we had [...] of accidents – though nothing serious resulted. Our carriage almost tipped over down a [...] and [...] horse ran away and one of the draymen was almost killed. He was dragged from the carriage box and tangled in the reins under the horses' feet – despite all of this we reached Jerusalem again without so much as a scratch to show for it all.

It should be obvious to the reader how I would like to fill the lacunae in Bessie Tucker's account of the trip to Jericho. After the word 'splendid', the word 'dragoman' would give us the kind of description of Solomon Negima drawn by other travellers. I wonder also whether 'draymen' might alternatively be read 'dragomen'. In contrast to Ellen E. Miller and some of his other clients, however, Solomon was not an important character in the 'big four's' own narrative of their adventures in the East.

On 17 February the group sailed for Beirut, and around five days later they arrived in Damascus for what was intended to be a short visit. Mame and Anna Fargo, writing to Mrs Tucker from the Hotel Victoria in Damascus on 7 March, take up the story from here. Bessie Tucker had fallen ill with what they assumed was a bad cold. An English doctor, Dr Mackinnon, prescribed bed rest, but over the next few days Bessie developed a rash, which the doctor and his colleague Dr Smith initially thought might be scarlet fever or German measles. In fact, it was smallpox. The case escalated quickly. Bessie was taken to Dr Smith's house and Miss Robinson looked after her there overnight until a trained nurse arrived. The patient seemed to be doing well, but pneumonia set in, and she died of heart failure on 6 March. She was buried the same day in the Protestant Cemetery in Damascus.

The Fargo sisters praised the doctors and nurse, who had done everything in their power to save her. They conclude: 'Our hearts are broken – that is all I can say.'

The Fargo twins and Bessie Robinson returned from Europe on the *Lucania*, arriving at New York on 13 April 1895. Once again, the passenger manifest confuses their ages: Bessie Robinson is supposedly twenty-four, Anna Fargo twenty-six, and Mary Fargo nineteen. They had ten pieces of luggage, perhaps also containing Bessie Tucker's effects. The twins were both married within a few years, to young men from well-off families: Anna to Frederick William Albree and Mary to Louis J. Balliett. At the time of the 1900 census, the two couples, with the Ballietts' two-year-old son, Fargo, were residing together at West 88th Street in New York. Passenger manifests and passport applications show that they took many more trips to Europe over the years, and they seem to have built happier family lives than that of the one in which they had been brought up. Mary spent winters at her home in Florence, which is where Anna and her husband died of pneumonia in 1933 – the same year as Solomon Negima – a few days apart. Mary also died in Italy in 1951, over half a century after their first, tragic, trip across the Atlantic.

Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall

Around the time he was guiding the Fargo twins, Bessie Robinson and Bessie Tucker on their jaunt to Jericho, Solomon Negima had another young person under his care – but one who was not a client. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, Marmaduke Pickthall (1875–1936) published a memoir of his youthful travels in the Middle East in which a dragoman named Suleymân plays a central role. Aside from the simple coincidence of names, there is circumstantial evidence which points to Pickthall's Suleymân and Solomon Negima being one and the same. Both were based in Jaffa, educated in German schools, prided themselves on their knowledge of the Bible, were well-known as dragomans and had a mischievous sense of humour. There are also points of correspondence with the testimonial letters, to which I shall return below. I favour the identification. The scrupulous reader may skip this section entirely if they wish, but the tale of a young man initiated by a dragoman into a life-long relationship with the

Middle East is too good not to tell. Through Pickthall's account of Suleymân we may also access, at a remove, a dragoman's view of his clients and of mass tourism.

The travellers discussed in the first parts of this chapter happen to have been female, but they faced hazards beyond those peculiar to their sex. Bessie Tucker's death from smallpox; the carriage accident experienced by the Fargo party; Ellen Miller's illness and underestimation of her own vulnerability – all of these made a trip to the Middle East potentially dangerous, and a dragoman's role one of protector as well as guide and interpreter. Getting carried off by a sheikh was less of a risk than falling ill, being cheated or suffering an accident. Taking a package tour obviated at least some of this risk – or lessened the impression of it. Miss Miller was confident and prepared for the challenge of travel 'alone through Syria.' The Misses Fargo, Robinson and Tucker do not appear, from their accounts, to have travelled with a large organized tour, but will probably have made their own private arrangements through one of the main operators for whom we know Solomon Negima worked at this time. What most travellers did not do was to show up in Palestine alone and utterly unprepared – which is what Marmaduke Pickthall did in 1894.

Like many of Solomon's foreign clients, Pickthall came from a large household. His father, who died in 1881, was Rector of Chillesford in Suffolk, and Marmaduke was the eighth of nine surviving children from his father's two marriages. Having failed to gain a position in the Consular Service for Turkey, Persia, and the Levant, he was despondent: 'I was eighteen years old, and, having failed in one or two adventures, I thought myself an all-round failure, and was much depressed. I dreamed of Eastern sunshine, palm trees, camels, desert sand, as of a Paradise which I lost by my shortcomings' (Pickthall 1918: 1). In a country rectory, Pickthall's romantic, essentialized notion of the Orient may have been fed by books and pictures, but it was also shaped by his mother's tales of her own travel in the East. It was she who suggested he go for an extended trip, hoping that acquiring Middle Eastern languages would help him get into the Foreign Office by 'some backstairs way'.

Pickthall had other ideas. For him, experiencing the Orient was an end in itself. As soon as he arrived in Egypt, he began to rebel against his Victorian middle-class upbringing, and to distance himself from other Europeans. There is a fair dose of youthful naïveté and Orientalist cliché in his description of this

awakening, but he was sincere, and conscious of the prejudice inculcated in him by his background and education:

At first I tried to overcome this feeling or perception which, while I lived with English people, seemed unlawful. All my education until then had tended to impose on me the cult of the thing done habitually upon a certain plane of our society. To seek to mix on an equality with Orientals, of whatever breeding, was one of those things which were never done, nor even contemplated, by the kind of person who had always been my model.

Pickthall 1918: 2

By the time he arrived in Jaffa, Pickthall was determined to throw bourgeois convention to the wind. Although he had an introduction to an English family in Jerusalem, to whom he had been instructed to go directly, he was led astray by a fellow traveller, who convinced him that it was a bad idea to approach his contacts, and then essentially abandoned him in Jaffa.

Pickthall found himself a room at a guesthouse in the German colony at Jaffa, where he sat for two weeks without much idea of what to do with himself, until two fellow residents took pity on him. Rev. J. E. Hanauer, who lectured to Mr Woolrych Perowne's tour groups in this same period, became Pickthall's mentor. (Pickthall later edited his *Folk-lore of the Holy Land*, published in 1907.) Hanauer was of Swiss and Jewish descent and had been born in Jaffa. Pickthall hesitantly confided in him 'my sneaking wish to fraternize with Orientals' and Hanauer encouraged him, teaching him a few words of Arabic and taking him on walks. But his greatest teacher was Suleymân, 'a clever dragoman and one of the most famous jokers in all Syria,' who also happened to be bored at sitting around the guesthouse (presumably between jobs). 'He helped me to throw off the European and plunge into the native way of living,' Pickthall, in middle age, describes with wonder and affection the time they spent together exploring the region – or, from Suleymân's perspective, Pickthall may simply have been tagging along. He romanticizes the 'simple' and supposedly free and egalitarian life of the people among whom he lived and travelled. In this respect, he fits the Orientalist mould, but he was at least open to other ways of living than his own. 'I ran completely wild for months,' Pickthall writes with some pride, 'in a manner unbecoming to an Englishman' (Pickthall 1918: 7). His English hosts

in Jerusalem, when he was finally made to join them, were shocked at this young man 'in semi-native garb':

...and with a love for Arabs which, I was made to understand, was hardly decent. My native friends were objects of suspicion. I was told that they were undesirable, and, when I stood up for them, was soon put down by the retort that I was very young.

Pickthall 1918: 7

His Arab friends, as it happened, were also quick to remind him of his youth and inexperience, but he took it rather better from them. Young Marmaduke maintained at least an outward sign of decorum in Jerusalem for a few months, 'until Suleymân, the tourist season being ended, came with promise of adventure, when I flung discretion to the winds' (Pickthall 1918: 9).⁷ Mrs Pickthall got word of what his 'career development' trip to the Middle East had become, and family pressure, and his money running out, brought him back to England in 1896. Pickthall went on to become a successful novelist, writing tales in Oriental settings, but he was also a more serious scholar of the Middle East and Islam. No-one can have been very surprised when this clergyman's son formally converted to Islam in 1917, and adopted the name Muhammad. His translation of the Qur'an, published in 1930, has the distinction of being praised by both the authorities of Al Azhar University in Cairo, and the *Times Literary Supplement*.

Suleymân is the star of *Oriental Encounters*: a mentor figure who rescues his teenage friend from numerous tight spots and dispenses good advice. He was 'a man of decent birth, but poor,' with 'a reputation for unusual wisdom' (Pickthall 1918: 38). Suleymân knows almost everyone and is good at gaining the respect of those he does not. On one occasion, Pickthall has some money stolen from his hotel. The thief cannot be found, and the hotel-keeper is frantic lest news of the theft should get to Baedeker or Cook, and he should be ruined. Suleymân duly appears, a dragoman ex machina, and gets to the bottom of the matter; the Sheikh of Thieves turns out to be a personal friend (Pickthall 1918: 84). Suleymân smoothes their way with officialdom and teaches Pickthall useful lessons about when, how and to whom to offer bribes. He has authority, whether telling off children who are teasing Pickthall, or telling off Pickthall himself for acting rashly or naively. He is an excellent

manager of people and logistics, and is the only real voice of reason and moral authority in the book.

Suleymân is also a 'character' in the colloquial sense. He is a natural raconteur, with a talent for telling long, involved stories with a moral which is only tangentially relevant to the situation in which they have found themselves. Pickthall cannot always tell whether he is pulling his leg. Another companion, Rashîd, concludes that 'He is a famous liar, is our wise man yonder; yet he speaks the truth!' (Pickthall 1918: 67). Local people are drawn to his charisma:

We were the centre of a crowd, as usual when Suleymân was with us. His voice attracted people like a drum, and the matter of his talk had power to hold them. It was a weighty voice of studied modulations, which promised wisdom on the brink of laughter. . . . By his own account he had journeyed to the world's rim, and had associated not alone with men, but also with jinns and ghouls. On the other hand, he had been to Europe several times, and knew the streets of Paris and of London. Somehow, one never doubted any of his stories while he was telling them, the accents of his voice had such conviction. One as conscious that his tales – even the most extravagant – were true in some mysterious, intrinsic way.

Pickthall 1918: 171–2

With foreign tourists, he plays the part of both picturesque native and pious co-religionist:

One afternoon, when I was riding round the bay from Akka towards the foot of Carmel, supposing Suleymân to be a hundred miles away, I came upon a group of tourists by the river Kishon, on the outskirts of the palm grove. They had alighted and were grouped around a dragoman in gorgeous raiment, like gulls around a parrot. The native of the land was holding forth to them. His voice was richly clerical in intonation, which made me notice that his audience consisted solely of members of the clergy and their patient women.

Pickthall 1918: 186

Suleymân took the performative aspect of his role as dragoman very seriously. Pickthall relates how he had studied scripture at a German mission school (as, it should be recalled, did Solomon Negima) and rode through Palestine with his Bible in front of him on his saddle, reading up for his after-dinner sermon on the following day's sites. He identified a specifically clerical species of humour, and adopted it for these sermons. He even deliberately mangled his

English for his clients' amusement: 'he would invent absurd mistakes and then rehearse them to me, with the question: "Is that funny? Will that make the English laugh?"' (Pickthall 1918: 182).

One of Suleymân's finest moments came in his treatment of an American Admiral on shore leave for two days, who had an unusual request. Pickthall, writing in more delicate times, is forced to come up with a good euphemism for pissing on a tree:

[The Admiral] asked only one thing: to be shown the tree on which Judas Iscariot had hanged himself, in order that he might defile it in a natural manner and so attest his faith. Suleymân was able to conduct him to the very tree, and to make the journey occupy exactly the time specified. The American was satisfied, and wrote him out a handsome testimonial.

Pickthall 1918: 184

As it happens, we do know of an American Admiral who came ashore in Palestine in the tourist season of 1895: Rear-Admiral William Alexander Kirkland (1836–98), commander of the European Squadron. Kirkland was never one to shy away from controversy.⁸ He was removed from his command after meddling in diplomatic affairs and making derogatory statements in the press about American missionaries in the Middle East (*New York Herald*, 18 August 1895). So here was an American Admiral in Palestine in 1895, with precisely the temperament to desecrate an historic tree. And his dragoman was Solomon Negima:

Flagship San Francisco

March 13th 1895

Solomon Nagina, the guide furnished me by Mr Cook, has been a success from beginning to end – as a historian, as a pleasant mannered fellow, and a probable lecturer in the future. I have not met his equal. There are few events in the history of Palestine with which he is not familiar and if there are any data wanting he can furnish them instantly from his private data fund.

WA Kirkland

Rear Admiral US Navy

SN 7; see Fig. 16

This, I would argue, makes the Suleymân–Solomon identification all but certain, even if there is no mention of the ill-fated tree. Suleymân also showed

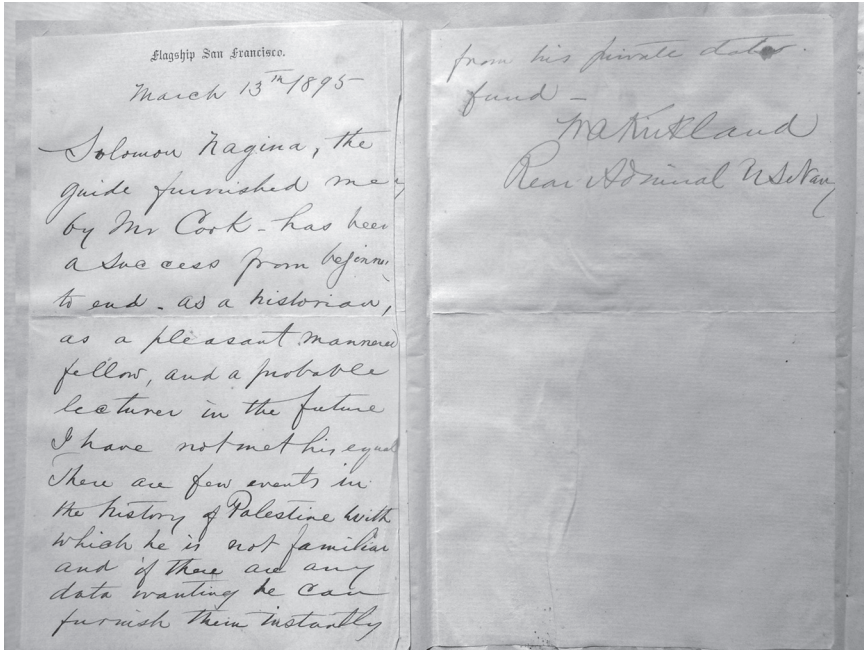


Figure 16 SN 7: Letter from Rear-Admiral W. A. Kirkland.

Pickthall a large number of his other testimonial letters, which may have included those of Ellen Miller and the Fargo party.

Not all client–dragoman relationships were so satisfactory. Pickthall was distressed when he recommended Suleymân’s services to acquaintances visiting from England, and found that his English and his Syrian friends were from two such different worlds that they could not understand one another. The sorry episode merits quotation in its entirety.

Though I had known Suleymân for nearly two years, and had had him with me for some six months of that time, I had never seen him in his function of a dragoman, by which he earned enough in two months of the year to keep a wife and children in a village of the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, of which he spoke with heart-moving affection, though he seldom went there. It was only after much insistence that he allowed us to conduct him thither on one memorable occasion, when I could not but admire his perfect manners as a despot. When first I met him he had been a gentleman at large, and it was as that, and a familiar friend, that he repaired to me whenever he had nothing else to do. Judging from his gifts of conversation, which we all admired, and

his unbounded knowledge of the country, I thought that, as a guide for tourists, he would be invaluable. So, when I heard that English friends of mine were coming out to Palestine, I wrote advising them to ask for him, him only; and I was glad to hear soon afterwards that he was with them. When they came north, I joined the party at Damascus and travelled with them for their last fortnight.

It did not take me many minutes in the camp to see that Suleymân was not himself, and that my friends were not so charmed with him as I had thought they would be. On the first evening in their tent I heard complaints. They told me he was most unconscionably lazy, and would not take them to the places they desired to visit. The trouble was, as I soon learnt, that they possessed a map and guidebook which they studied reverently every night, finding out places said therein to be of interest. Suleymân, on his side, had, at setting out, possessed a plan to make their tour the most delightful one imaginable. He hoped by visiting selected spots and people to give it sequence and significance. In a word, he was an artist in travel, wishing to provide them with delicious memories, while they were English and omnivorous of facts and scenes. When he learnt from various rebuffs that they would not confide themselves to him, he lost all pleasure in the tour. It was a listless and disgusted upper servant, most unlike the man I knew, whom I found in gorgeous raiment sitting by the cook's fire in the gardens of Damascus, which were then a wilderness of roses.

He did not explain matters to me all at once. When I reproached him for neglecting friends of mine, he answered only: 'It is the will of Allah, who made men of different kinds, some sweet, some loathsome.' But my arrival mended things a little. At least, my English friends professed to see a great improvement in the conduct of Suleymân and all the servants. I think it was because the poor souls knew that they had someone now to whom they could express their grievances, someone who would condescend to talk with them; for nothing is more foreign to the Oriental scheme of life than the distance at which English people keep their servants. In the democratic East all men are equal, as far as rights of conversation are concerned. It is a hardship for the Oriental to serve Europeans, and only the much higher and more certain wages bring him to it.

Pickthall 1918: 291–4; there is no corresponding testimonial
among Solomon Negima's letters

Suleymân was a true professional. Usurped by a guidebook, his only form of resistance was in obedience to the letter of his clients' instructions. For every

Rear-Admiral Kirkland, happy at being able to 'defile' the tree on which Judas had hanged himself (so Suleymân/Solomon told him), or Bessie Tucker, utterly delighted with absolutely everything, there was a relationship that broke down through mutual distrust and misunderstanding.

Marmaduke Pickthall returned to Palestine many times (on his life and career, see Fremantle 1938; Clark 1986; Gilham 2014: 149–53; Canton 2011: 13–17). He had made many local friends, such as the Baldensperger family, originally from Alsace, who ran a successful bee-keeping enterprise. Pickthall visited Beirut and Jerusalem with his wife Muriel on several occasions, and she met Suleymân. It is Muriel Pickthall who gives us our last glimpse of the retired dragoman: 'In spring they went to Jerusalem, and were taken sight-seeing by the old dragoman Sulayman, now nearly blind, but knowing every stone in the city; and later to Damascus, before returning to England' (Pickthall 1937: 139). The chronology of her account (which is written in the third person) places this episode some time between 1904 and 1913. Solomon Negima also lost his sight. In the early 1900s, he was living at Floyd House in Jerusalem, a period of his life which will be discussed in Chapter 6. If, as I contend, Marmaduke Pickthall's mentor, Suleymân, is one and the same as Solomon Negima, it is pleasing to think that he could still act the dragoman for old friends.

Rev. Charles T. Walker

‘I reckon you will be surprised to hear from me. . .’

American National Baptist Convention

C. T. Walker, D. D., Treasurer

Augusta, G.A., April 4- 1892

To Mr Solomon Negima

Hotel Fiel [*sic*] Jerusalem

Palestine

Dear Solomon

I reckon you will be surprised to hear from me – you remember you were our guide while in Palestine – you will remember Rev Carter and Walker – and our trip to Jordan, Dead Sea, and Jericho. You will remember the silk handkerchief I gave you, and the red cap of yours I took in place of yours – I want you to write to me, and let me know if you can send me a few relics such as two or three pen holders from the mother of pearl, a blotter made of olive wood, and some few other things. Write to Rev C. T. Walker Augusta Ga. U.S.A. I hope you are well – Your friend

C. T. Walker

SN 43; see Fig. 17

In 1892, the Reverend Charles T. Walker, D.D., of Augusta, Georgia, wrote to Solomon Negima on the headed notepaper of the American National Baptist Convention. His tone is informal – ‘I reckon you will be surprised to hear from me’ – as he reminds Solomon of their acquaintance, and asks him for help in sending some souvenirs of the Holy Land. Behind Reverend Walker’s easy-going manner, we find a life story every bit as remarkable as Solomon’s own.

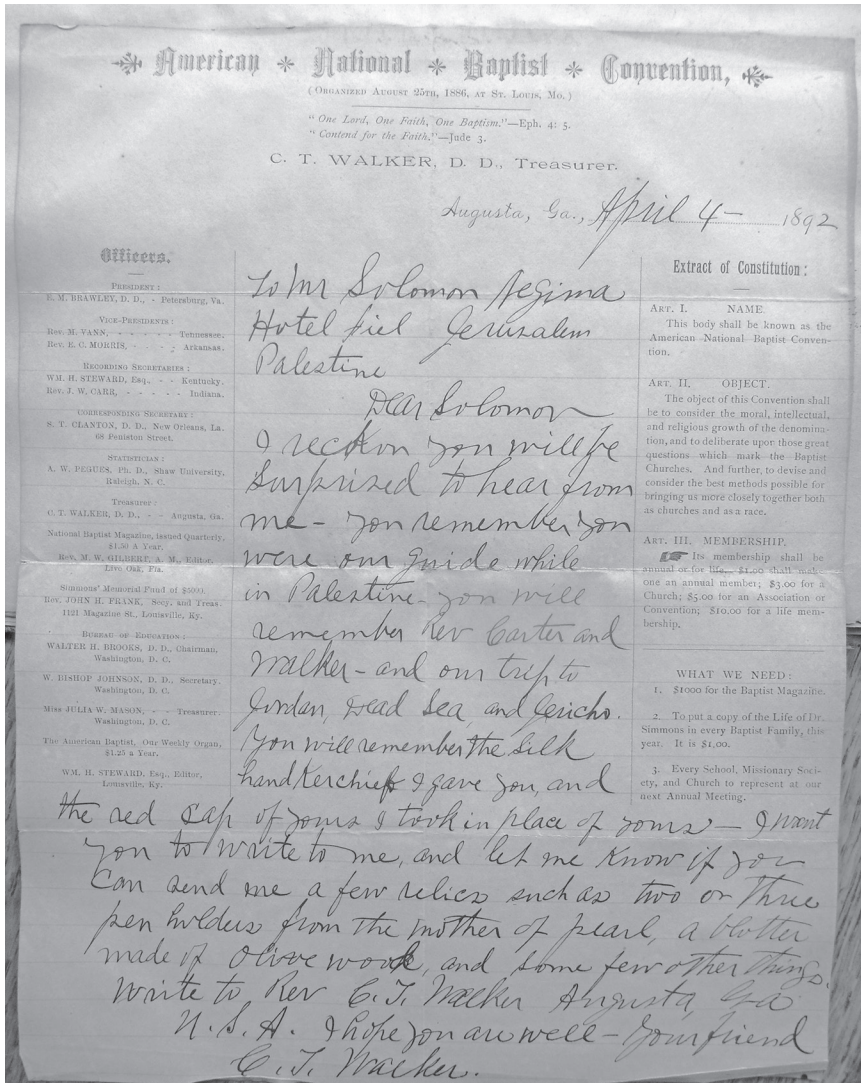


Figure 17 SN 43: Letter from Rev. Charles T. Walker.

Charles Thomas Walker was born into slavery in Richmond County, Georgia, in 1858. When he died, in 1921, his obituary was published in newspapers across the United States. He was hailed as 'the greatest negro preacher of his time'. He was well known to black and to white audiences alike: 'no other negro ever drew larger crowds when he spoke. His church in Augusta was often visited by Northern Winter tourists, among them former President Taft and John D.

Rockefeller' (*New York Times*, Saturday 30 July 1921, 6). Gwinnett Street in Augusta, where his church still stands, is now named Laney-Walker Boulevard in his honour. Rev. Walker's visit to the Holy Land is a crucial part of the story of how he advanced himself from field-hand to renowned orator and author.

Rev. Walker is one of the best documented of Solomon's clients. He wrote an account of his travels, *A Colored Man Abroad* (1892), and was the subject of a full biography and a number of shorter biographical sketches, most notably by his friend and junior colleague, Silas Xavier Floyd (1869–1923). As a black traveller in Europe and the Middle East, Rev. Walker was in an unusual, although by no means unique, position. In his own account and those of others, his race is central to his story and identity – and from a modern perspective it would be easy to make his story solely about race, too. If we read through the works of black travellers looking to sift out race-specific references and experiences, however, then we miss the wider picture. Rev. Walker was also a minister, one of many who travelled in the East and created a whole genre of clergymen's accounts of the Holy Land. Solomon Negima, as we have seen, was used to dealing with such clients, and catered to their interests by providing his own detailed and learned commentary on the sites of Biblical events. For Rev. Walker, his visit to the Holy Land was a deeply spiritual experience, and his book reflects this.

As an American, Rev. Walker was furthermore heir to an existing tradition of 'United States Orientalism' (Schueller 1998), which interpreted the East in ways that spoke to contemporary American social and foreign affairs. Like their European contemporaries, writers in the American Orientalist tradition created a picture of the Orient that privileged their own position of political and moral 'dominance'. African-American writers, as we shall see, also 'othered' the Orient, and shaped its image to reflect their own concerns. This is why race is not as relevant to the Negima-Walker encounter as one might at first assume. However much we might like, from a postcolonial perspective, to see representatives of two 'subaltern' groups against white imperial authority having a special affinity, Rev. Walker's status as a comparatively well-off American client, presenting his experiences to audiences back home, complicates matters.

Slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1834 and the United States in 1865. Many of Solomon's well-off British and American clients came from families which had previously owned slaves. Walter Nibbs is the

best-documented example (SN 57). Although he never owned slaves himself, the wealth of his family came from sugar plantations in Antigua, and his ancestors were compensated by the British government for the loss of their slaves in 1834. Slavery is not just relevant to the story of black travellers such as Charles T. Walker, but also to white travellers.

The Black Spurgeon

Charles T. Walker was the subject of a biography during his own lifetime, written by Rev. Silas X. Floyd (1902). This followed a shorter sketch published in 1892, the year of Walker's travels (Floyd 1892). A biography written by someone who knows the subject well and admires him, published while he is still alive, will inevitably be biased in his favour. Floyd's *Life of Charles T. Walker D.D.* is, as might be expected, a hagiography. Even allowing for this, Walker appears to have been a remarkable man, and his life story is remarkable too. In his own writings, we find a shrewd observer of people and pragmatic, diplomatic worker for the causes he believed in.

Floyd, who was also a Baptist minister, approached the biographical task with a clear agenda. Only eleven years younger than Walker, but born into a post-emancipation South, he was a passionate and powerful orator, who believed that America should never lose sight of its – still recent – past as a slave-owning society. In a speech of 1909, in which he compared the black American experience to that of the Israelites coming out of slavery in Egypt, Floyd expressed his dismay that 'some old Negroes wish to forget all about slavery – all about the past – and stoutly maintain that we have no right to be celebrating each year that brought freedom to our race. May God forget my people when they forget this day' (*Atlanta Constitution*, 2 January 1909). To Floyd, and to other contemporaries, Walker was an important representative of African-American accomplishment and achievement: out of slavery, into success on a national stage. Floyd dedicates his biography 'To the young men of the Negro race in America', and writes that the purpose of the work is to inspire them (Floyd 1902, 10–11).

In 1773, a white man named Walker brought a family of black slaves from Virginia to Burke County, Georgia. The history of the Walkers – white and

black – is recounted by Walter A. Clark (whose mother was a Walker), in *A Lost Arcadia, or The Story of My Old Community* (Clark 1909). Clark's perspective on slavery may be seen in the title of his book. Colonel A. C. Walker, Clark's uncle, wrote of his former chattels that 'as Slaves, they were noted for their admirable qualities, and as freedmen they have sustained their reputation' (Floyd 1902, 19–20). Clark shared his memories of a woman named Hannah, as a sentimentalized Mammy figure: 'She was only an humble slave, and yet her love for me was scarcely less than that my father and mother bore me' (Clark 1900, 48–9).

Hannah was Charles T. Walker's mother. She was remembered by those who knew her better than Clark did as a 'woman of unusual piety and strength of character' (Floyd 1902, 21), something which she was repeatedly called upon to demonstrate. Her husband, Thomas, was their master's coachman, a position of comparative honour, and a church deacon. Two of his brothers were Baptist ministers. One of these, the Reverend Joseph T. Walker, had his freedom purchased for him by his congregation in 1852; Richmond County was unusual in the level of religious organization among its slaves. Hannah bore ten children over the course of her marriage. Her husband died of pneumonia the day before the eleventh, Charles Thomas, was born. Hannah died in 1866, when her youngest son was eight years old, just after the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, ending slavery. She lived just one year as a free woman. Floyd writes movingly of the wasted potential of those, such as Hannah and Thomas Walker, who lived their lives under a system that 'did crush and cower so much of genius and intellectual strength and moral grandeur, and did send to their graves without opportunity and without chance thousands and thousands who, under any just and equitable scheme of civilization, might have proved God's noblest friends and humanity's strongest helpers' (Floyd 1902: 27).

Charles Thomas was given a basic education by his mother, Hannah, learning to read from the family Bible. This was continued under the instruction of Hattie Dow and Hattie Foote, two of many white, northern schoolteachers who came south in the years after the Civil War to work with black communities in Georgia (Jones 1980; Miss Foote later got into trouble with her employers for 'unbecoming' conduct with a young man). Despite his schooling, Charles nevertheless seemed destined to a life of agricultural labour. In 1873, he was

working in his uncle's cotton fields when he suddenly disappeared into the woods, where he stayed for three days and three nights, undergoing a religious awakening, and emerged a convert. He was duly baptized by another uncle, Rev. Nathan Walker.

In 1874, aged sixteen, Charles Walker entered the Augusta Institute, which had been founded in 1867 to prepare black men for ministry and teaching. It was presided over at that time by Rev. Joseph T. Robert, a former slaveholder. Walker had only six dollars, and although he lived frugally, this was eventually used up and he was on the verge of returning to work as a field-hand. The story goes that his fellow students, Rev. Robert, and eventually three sponsors from Ohio, were so impressed by his conduct and potential that they stepped in to support him. One of his sponsors, George N. Bierce of Dayton, later said 'that he had made many investments in his life, but he believed that the money he had invested in Dr. Walker's education had yielded the largest and best returns of any investment that he had ever made' (Floyd 1902: 31). Walker must have felt the responsibility placed upon him by this trust. Floyd holds him up as 'a conspicuous example of what a little money, wisely placed in the education of one colored man, can do toward the elevation of an entire race' (Floyd 1902: 33).

Rev. Walker was ordained in 1877, and spent a number of years running rural parishes and teaching school. In 1879, he married Violet 'Viola' Q. Franklin, who had also been born on a Walker family plantation. Her obituary, in 1928, celebrated her as a 'worthy colored woman,' a term common in Southern parlance of the period (*Augusta Sentinel*, 13 April 1928), but I have been unable to find out much else about her. The couple went on to have four children, three of whom died in childhood or young adulthood. As Walker's reputation as a preacher grew, he received invitations to speak all over Georgia. In Augusta, he founded a school and became pastor of a new church, the Tabernacle Baptist Church, which quickly grew in membership and reputation, and still exists today. In 1886, Rev. Walker travelled north to raise funds for the church. He found a public who were already cynical about black fundraising, and had to work hard to fight preconceptions. He noted in a report upon his return:

The Lord went with me, and opened up for me many places which were considered very hard, and enabled me to approach some persons who were at first apparently not at all friendly toward the colored people. When I got on the grounds and learned the true situation, I was not at all disposed to

criticise the people of the North for being cautious about distributing their money to irresponsible persons. I found out that numbers of colored people go up North every year begging for money for churches and schools and orphan homes and the like, which have no existence at all, except in the imaginations of their impostors or on paper. When members of my own race will do such things they make it hard for a worthy person soliciting for a worthy and legitimate enterprise and you cannot blame people for being careful about giving their money when they know that there are many little schemes being worked by colored men to rob them.

Floyd 1902: 45

Rev. Walker became business manager of the *Augusta Sentinel* newspaper (of which Rev. Floyd was editor for a period) and was active in church organizations and community causes in Augusta. *A Colored Man Abroad*, his account of his travels, which I will discuss in the following section, had its origin in letters to the *Sentinel* from overseas in 1891. Having established a national reputation, he was successfully courted by Mt Olivet Baptist Church, New York, and moved to become pastor there in 1899. Rev. Floyd took over at the Tabernacle Baptist Church in Augusta. While in New York, Walker helped set up the city's first black YMCA. In 1901, after campaigns by his current and former church, he retained his position in New York, but returned to preach in Augusta several times a year. In 1898–9, he served as chaplain with a US regiment in Cuba. His later life, after Floyd's biography of 1902, is less well documented. After five years in New York, he returned to live in Augusta, and it was there, in his house on Gwinnett Street, that he died on 29 July 1921. The Tabernacle Baptist Church went on to play an important role in the Civil Rights movement. Among other notable figures, Martin Luther King Jr spoke at a meeting there in 1962.

Contemporary accounts place special emphasis on Rev. Walker's abilities as a preacher: this, along with his organizational skills, was what had two churches fighting over him. Without audio or video recordings, it can be difficult to understand what made a person a charismatic speaker. According to those who heard him speak, there were two aspects of Rev. Walker's oratory that made him effective and well liked: an ability to communicate clearly and effectively to people of all social backgrounds and levels of education; and a pragmatic, reasoned approach to convincing those whose support he needed.

Extracts from Rev. Walker's sermons and testimonials are collected in Floyd's biography. A comparison which recurs is that of Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834–92), a British Baptist known as the 'Prince of Preachers' (Ray 1903). 'The Black Spurgeon' is the subtitle to Floyd's biography. Spurgeon was an immensely influential preacher in his day, known for his plain speech and direct recourse to the Gospels. He spoke to huge crowds. His opposition to slavery lost him support from white Southern Baptists, but can only have gained him greater support from black congregations. Walker met Spurgeon in London and heard him preach while en route to the Holy Land.

By Floyd's account, Walker shared with Spurgeon his ability to draw a crowd and his direct and energetic manner of preaching:

It is not exaggeration to say that he is the best known Negro minister of the State of Georgia, and that more people will go to hear him preach than will go to hear any other colored man. Not the celebrated, plain-spoken, claw and hammer preaching of Sam Jones, nor the Holy Ghost preaching of the pious Dwight L. Moody, of sainted memory, drew larger crowds to the auditorium at Exposition Park, Atlanta, Ga., than did the thunderous proclamation of the gospel by Charles T. Walker.

Floyd 1902, 57

Impressions such as these are the closest we can get to capturing the experiences of the audiences who flocked to hear Rev. Walker preach.

Walker's gifts as a speaker first gained him recognition on a national stage at the National Baptist Convention in Indianapolis in 1889. It was his performance there that led the State University of Kentucky to make him an honorary Doctor of Divinity in 1890. As we have already seen, Walker's experiences fundraising for his church and school among white northerners were mixed: it took some persistence in the face of prejudice to convince potential allies and donors of his sincerity. He was also frustrated at white liberal rhetoric that was not backed up by positive action: 'the Northern people, with all their boasted love for the negro, are slow to give him employment' (Walker 1892: 61). As may be seen from his actions, such as the establishment of schools and YMCA branches in New York and Augusta, Rev. Walker believed in taking practical steps to advance his community socially and economically. How, then, to convert the inertia of those (white) people with political and economic clout into concrete support of his aims?

Rev. Walker's speeches in Indianapolis should be understood in this light. When debate at the National Baptist Convention turned to lynchings and racist violence in the South, with emotions running high, he 'gained the floor and made an able speech counseling wisdom and moderation' (Floyd 1892: 6; Floyd 1902: 79). His presentation of race relations in the South was nuanced. He praised those white southerners who supported black churches, and those northerners who were working to rouse public sentiment and moral outrage against lynch law. From a modern, post-Civil Rights perspective, Rev. Walker's position can come across as overly deferential to whites. In the context of the Convention, nevertheless, he acted as a moderate, calming influence in a fraught debate which could so easily have achieved little except the expression of outrage. I also read it as pragmatic: he drew attention to himself, and thereby to his church and cause, and encouraged 'feel-good' donation and support from northerners and southerners alike.

In turn-of-the-century Georgia, white authority also gave a black man's statements and achievements credibility: this could apply to black and white audiences. Rev. Floyd relates a couple of telling anecdotes:

Once a Georgia Negro carried a letter to Dr. Walker and asked him to read it for him. Dr. Walker complied with his request. Two or three days later, the same man came back and said:

"Doc, you sho did read my letter all right. I took it to two white men since, and dey read the same things dat you did."

Somewhat later, another colored man came to Dr. Walker and asked him how much was 9×70 . Dr. Walker told him 630. A few days later the colored man returned and said:

"Doc, you know de uddah day, I axt you how much was 9×70 , an' you told me 630. Well, I axt Capt. Jones (a white man) about it and he told me de same thing. I tell you, Doc, you sho knows how to count."

In telling these stories, Dr. Walker always makes the point that it is very difficult to get the average Negro to believe another Negro unless some white man will endorse what the colored man says. It seems to be an old and foolish way Negroes were taught during slavery.

Floyd 1902: 172

It is in this light that we should read the Introduction by Robert Stuart MacArthur, the (white) pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in New York, to

Floyd's biography of Walker. Rather than serving to make Walker an accepted peer of white ministers, however, the recommendation instead emphasizes his uniqueness in his own community, and places him in a separate category entirely to white preachers:

There is probably no other Negro in the United States, and perhaps no other in the world, who is a better subject for a biography than Charles T. Walker. Many will affirm that Booker T. Washington is the most prominent representative of his race in America; doubtless, in his special department of effort for his people, he is the representative Negro. But all intelligent men, black or white, familiar with the facts, will say that Dr. Walker is the ablest Negro preacher and pastor in the United States. His racial characteristics are so strongly emphasized that the most bitter opponent of his race cannot attribute his acknowledged ability as thinker, writer and preacher to any interfusion of white blood in his veins. He is a Negro in every drop of his blood.

MacArthur in Floyd 1902: 7

MacArthur's reference to Booker T. Washington gives us a better context for Walker and his achievements than the views of well-meaning but sometimes patronizing white contemporaries. Washington was the foremost African-American public figure of the era, famous as an educator and politician. Like Walker, his accommodating approach with white leaders left him open to criticism from those (such as W. E. B. Du Bois) who favoured more direct activism and action. Floyd compares Walker to two other contemporary African-American figures: Du Bois, the first African American to earn a doctorate from Harvard, and one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the writer Paul Laurence Dunbar, who felt a great ambivalence about his success with poems written in Southern African-American dialect (Floyd 1902: 11). All belonged to the generation that came of age immediately after the end of slavery, which met new struggles in a world in which they were nominally free; and all worked, in their separate fields, to improve the lot of their fellow black Americans. Charles T. Walker was in illustrious company.

Our contemporary sources on Walker's life and abilities, as I have already noted, give us nothing short of a hagiography. If he were always late for appointments or unkind to animals, chewed with his mouth open or made fun

of friends behind their backs, we would certainly not know of it. What Floyd, MacArthur and other commentators do give us is a compelling picture of an intelligent, hardworking and charismatic man, who knew how to manage people. No wonder he and Solomon Negima got along so well. I turn now to Walker's own words about his travels in Europe and the Holy Land.

A Colored Man Abroad

Rev. Walker's account of his travels, *A Colored Man Abroad*, reproduces letters which he sent home for publication in the *Augusta Sentinel*. He writes for a wide readership, and his style is plain and unornamented. He lingers over things that he thinks his audience will find particularly appealing: comic social interactions, local colour, or places they will know from their Bible. On the Alexandria–Cairo train, he notes that the conductor was 'the exact counterpart of brother John Samuels, a member of my church. He may be John's brother' (Walker 1892: 74). We can imagine Samuels' friends teasing him about his Egyptian doppelgänger.

Walker addresses his travelogue so directly to his parishioners in Augusta because he felt a responsibility towards them. This responsibility was financial – they had paid for the trip – but also pastoral. He, like the other African-American travellers I shall discuss in the following sections, was very conscious of having an experience beyond anything his friends or parishioners could dream of. He felt a responsibility to share the story of his journey – geographical and personal. He also hoped to inspire religious devotion.

Walker's book is dedicated 'To the Members of the Tabernacle Baptist Church and the good people of Augusta, both White and Colored', but most of the dedicatees will not have experienced his story in written form. In reading the book, we are not seeing the real picture of how Walker communicated his journey – this was in oral form, to rapt audiences.

The journey began with the journey by train to New York, where Rev. Walker and his companions 'visited the office of Messrs. Henry Gaze & Son, the great tourists, and enjoyed a pleasant and satisfactory chat with reference to our contemplated journey' (Walker 1892: 32). We know from his testimonial letters that Solomon Negima conducted several organized parties for Gaze's in the

EXCURSIONS.

GAZE'S TOURS

TO THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES.

Jan. 8th and 15th and Feb. 5th, visiting SPAIN, MOROCCO, ALGIERS, TUNIS, SICILY, including a visit to the Island of Malta. Seventy days, high class.

ALL NECESSARY EXPENSES.....\$570 UP

Annual Round the World Tour, Nov. and June. ITALY, GREECE, Egypt and Palestine, January and February. South of France and Italy parties monthly. Descriptive programmes free. Independent tickets for any desired tour throughout the world.

CHOICE BERTHS ON ALL STEAMERS.
GAZE'S TOURIST GAZETTE MAILED FREE.
Contains valuable information for travelers.

HENRY GAZE & SONS, LTD.,
113 Broadway, New York.
Established 1844.

Figure 18 Advertisement for Henry Gaze's tours.

period 1891–3 (SN 15, SN 16, SN 18, SN 23, SN 56). Although some tourists may have joined these in Palestine, Walker's visit to the New York office of Henry Gaze and Son shows the reach of tour operators in the 1890s (see Fig. 18). All arrangements could be made before leaving home, and local offices in places such as Jaffa or Jerusalem could then engage experienced local guides such as Solomon on their clients' behalf. The Fargo party (SN 1; see Chapter 4), for example, may well have made similar arrangements for their European or Middle Eastern travels before sailing from New York.

Rev. Walker shared his observations on New York – a city few of them will have had the opportunity to see – with his readers back in Augusta. His stories, typically, are about people as much as places. Many are humorous, and seem intended to give his congregation things to talk about. He passes on reports of 'a preacher who has inaugurated a nursery, in connection with his church, known as the "Infant Room"':

All ladies bringing babies are required to leave them in the infant room, in charge of a nurse, so that their crying will not disturb the preacher whilst he is expounding the Scriptures to their mothers. This is quite a novel idea of getting rid of crying children.

Walker 1892, 34

It is hard not to see the last statement as slyly and deliberately provocative. Just as arguments on good and bad practice in child rearing fill modern

newspapers, magazines and blogs, we can imagine that Rev. Walker's report will have provoked strong opinions on both sides back home in Augusta. He also, in a roundabout way, shows Southern pride: 'I find that ignorance abounds in the North as well as the South.' Speaking of his planned visit to the Holy Land with a woman in New York – context suggests that she is a potential donor to his church – he reports that she did not even realize that Jerusalem was on earth.

On 15 April 1891, Rev. Walker sailed for Europe on the steamer *City of New York*. The crossing took seven days. On this, presumably his first ocean voyage, he seems to have been one of the few who were not seasick. The passengers were of many nationalities, and included celebrities and old acquaintances. Chief among the former was Henry Morton Stanley, famous for his meeting with David Livingstone near Lake Tanganyika twenty years earlier:

Mr. H. M. Stanley, the great African explorer, is on board. I have been promised an interview with him on to-morrow. He is grappling with mal-de-mer, and succumbs more to it than he did to the various African tribes with whom he came into contact during his explorations on the Congo.

Walker 1892: 37

We do not know if the planned meeting ever took place, but Rev. Walker nevertheless presents us with a striking image of the great explorer heaving up his breakfast in his cabin. He also reminds us of the colonialist context of travel in the late nineteenth century. Tourists, explorers and the agents of empires all travelled along the same routes, often on the same vessels. A missionary travelling to the Holy Land might dine on-ship with a British army officer posted to Egypt, or have the children of an English family, born in India but returning from school at 'Home', in the neighbouring cabin. Rev. Walker, unfortunately, does not tell us what he, as an African American, thought of a white explorer who, for all his condemnation of the slave trade, was notorious for his brutality towards Africans – or if such things were even discussed (Hochschild 1998: 49–50).

On this same ship on the Mediterranean or transatlantic route, but below decks, travel was undertaken for reasons no less connected to world politics and social changes. On his return to the United States, in June 1891, Rev. Walker travelled on the *City of Chicago*, which had 'nearly three hundred Polish or Russian Jews among the steerage passengers, who are going to American on

account of persecutions subjected to in Russia' (Walker 1892: 139). The other steerage passengers were also emigrants from Europe. Rev. Walker's opinion of them was low:

Many of these foreigners are of the very worst element in their own country. They are ignorant, treacherous, uncivilized, and many of them heathens. They have no Sabbath; no respect for the law; no regard for Christianity, their aims and customs being antagonistic to the principles of liberty as laid down in the Declaration of Independence of the United States.

Walker 1892: 144

What are we to make of this prejudice against immigrants, from a clergyman, who was himself subject to discrimination? The reason for it, as it emerges, is precisely because Rev. Walker compares their experience to his own: 'these very people come to America to supersede the negro and to boss him. These immigrants have extended to them the rights of citizenship in every particular, and yet these inalienable rights are denied the colored man, who has helped to make America what it is.' On 24 April 1891, Rev. Walker submitted a passport application at the US Legation in London, for his onward travels (see Fig. 19).¹ The form presented him with a potentially tricky section to fill in: 'My father _____ citizen of the United States.' He completed it with 'was a native', although his father had died before he had the opportunity to be a citizen at all.

Rev. Walker had other companions on the voyage out whom he was more pleased to see. He was particularly 'glad to add to our number' Professor R. H. Welborn, who had formerly taught at Miss Laney's school in Augusta, and was now en route to study at the University of Oxford (Walker 1892: 40–1). Lucy Craft Laney shares Rev. Walker's position as honorand of Laney-Walker Boulevard in Augusta. Her school was subsequently renamed the Haines Normal and Industrial Institute. I have been unable to find out anything more about Welborn, either in the Augusta press, or in records of students of the University of Oxford – it is possible that he studied there for a time without matriculating.

Upon his arrival in Europe, Rev. Walker instantly found that his status had changed. He was a celebrity:

The colored man in America is a problem – in England he is a novelty. They do not see many colored people, and they go wild over you. We had to wait, after speaking, until every man, woman and child could shake

[EDITION OF 1889.]

NATIVE.

Fee for Passport, - - - \$1.00
 Fee for filling out appli-
 cation in duplicate, - - .50
 Fee for administering
 oath in duplicate, - - .50

No. 511.

ISSUED, April 24, 1891

I, Charles T. Walker, a native and loyal citizen of the United States,
 hereby apply to the Legation of the United States at London for a passport for
 myself, accompanied by my wife, and minor children as follows:
 born at _____ on the _____ day
 of _____, 18____ and _____

I solemnly swear that I was born at Augusta, in the State of
Georgia, on or about the 17 day of January, 1858; that
 my father was a native citizen of the United States; that I am domiciled in the United
 States, my permanent residence being at Augusta, in the State of
Georgia, where I follow the occupation of Minister; that I
 left the United States on the 15 day of April, 1891, and am now temporarily
 sojourning at 38, Guard Street, St. John; that I am the bearer of Passport No. _____
 issued by _____ on the _____ day of _____, 18____;
 that I intend to return to the United States within three months with the pur-
 pose of residing and performing the duties of citizenship therein; and that I desire the pass-
 port for the purpose of travelling on the Continent.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the
 United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and alle-
 giance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or
 purpose of evasion: So HELP ME GOD.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES AT LondonSworn to before me, this 24 day of April, 1891

DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT

Age: <u>33</u> years.	Mouth: <u>medium</u>
Stature: <u>5</u> feet, <u>7</u> inches, Eng.	Chin: <u>square</u>
Forehead: <u>medium</u>	Hair: <u>black</u>
Eyes: <u>black</u>	Complexion: <u>dark</u>
Nose: <u>regular</u>	Face: <u>oval</u>

IDENTIFICATION.

I hereby certify that I know the above-named _____, 18____
 personally, and know _____ to be a native-born citizen of the United States, and that the facts
 stated in his _____ affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

(Introduced to Minister)

[ADDRESS OF WITNESS]

NOTE.—This form is to be filled out in duplicate, one copy being retained on the files of the Legation and the other forwarded with the
 quarterly returns to the Department of State. It may be so filled out by the applicant, in which case no fee therefor is chargeable.

Figure 19 Rev. Charles T. Walker's passport application.

hands with us. . . . Many of the best people in this great city have given us standing invites to visit their homes whenever we cross the Atlantic, but that ocean – that mighty Atlantic – separates England and America like Jordan divided the dwellers of the wilderness from the inhabitants of the Promised Land.

Walker 1892: 46

An Italian lady who had never seen a black person before ‘was so delighted with her newly-made acquaintances that she wanted to continue the journey with us to Pisa’ (Walker 1892: 52–3). Being a novelty, however, was not the same as being respected as an equal. An Italian captain on the Mediterranean was surprised that Walker and his companion Rev. Carter were ministers, since this did not fit with his preconceptions about a black man’s social and professional position (Walker 1892: 71–2). The Revs. Walker and Carter themselves began to see other people of African descent as a novelty, and commented on every one they saw. As well as Brother Samuels’ double on the Alexandria to Cairo train, they met a black woman from South America who was en route to Algiers (Walker 1892: 51).

Walker, who considered himself ‘as observant, inquisitive and meddlesome as a Georgia idiot could possibly be’ (Walker 1892: 59), described everything he saw for his readers back home in Augusta. He went up the Eiffel Tower and the Leaning Tower of Pisa. He saw the Pyramids and the Wailing Wall. At the Colosseum, he reflected on the barbarity of the ancient Roman gladiatorial and wild beast shows, and the eventual triumph of Christianity. In the Italian countryside, he remarked upon the poverty and poor working conditions of the local peasants, compared to their equivalents in America. He was surprised to find that in Egypt men dressed like women, in long gowns, and that in Italy men kissed in greeting. Everywhere, he saw survivals of the Biblical past he knew from his scripture: a leper house in Palestine, shepherds pasturing their flocks, people dressed in picturesque costumes.

Egypt was of especial interest. As an African American, he was keen to see Africa for himself. As a former slave, he dwells on the Biblical narrative of the Israelites’ captivity in Egypt. Yet he also positions himself as a foreigner entering the ‘Dark Continent’ (Walker 1892: 59), and has a foreign tourist’s typical eye for colourful ‘Oriental’ spectacle. His account is, on the whole, not dissimilar to that of contemporary white tourists – Walker, like all travellers, recorded his

frustration at constant demands for baksheesh. In Alexandria, he acquired his first fez – but not, as we shall see, his last. The city was:

... mostly inhabited by Arabians, who are of all sorts of colors – white, red, brown, black, yellow, and every other tinge, and each wears a red cap, or fez in their nomenclature. We each bought one, so as to help us through the country easy, as the natives like to have strangers to imitate them in their apparel.

Walker 1892: 65

Here we see the first signs of a liking for colourful hats which would cement his friendship with Solomon Negima.

The Holy Land was the highlight of Rev. Walker's trip. He describes every site of Biblical interest, major and minor: from the place where Christ sat while the crown of thorns was being plaited for him, to the pit where the innocents massacred by Herod were thrown. This meticulous recording of detail shows how he was reading the landscape in a particular way. The scriptural resonance of specific spots was of deep significance for him and his flock. He was not gullible, but a sense of place was very important to him.

Solomon Negima gets only a brief mention in *A Colored Man Abroad*, although the two men evidently established sufficient rapport to stay in touch. It was very late in the tourist season – May 1891 – and the group which Solomon guided from Jerusalem to Bethlehem and the Dead Sea was in consequence a small one: 'Six men made up our party – Revs. E. R. Carter, of Atlanta, Ga., H. M. Black, of Melbourne, Australia and the writer were the tourists; then our guide, Solomon Negima, to ride in front with a sword and gun, as guard, and a man, with two or three days' provisions, on a horse behind' (Walker 1892: 98). Black's two testimonial letters to Solomon are also preserved in his book:

May 20 1891

This is to certify that I have employed Mr Solomon Negamie as my dragoman during ten days spent in Judea and he fulfilled his duties to my entire satisfaction.

H. Milner Black

(Minister)

8 Harley Gardens, West Brompton

London S.W. England

SN 50; see Fig. 20

Palestine Hotel, Jaffa
May 27 1891

In company with two others, I was escorted by Solomon Negamie to Jericho, and whilst staying there, to my knowledge he bought a pair of field glasses paying sixteen francs shillings – (20 francs) – for the same.

H. Milner Black
8 Harley Gardens, London, S. W. England

SN 53; see Fig. 20

Hugh Milner Black (1864–1950) became a well-travelled man and had a varied career. He was born in London and apprenticed to a chemist and druggist (with whom he lived at the time of the 1881 census). By around 1888, however, he was a minister in Melbourne. In October 1892, some time after his trip to the Middle East, he somehow ended up in Salina, Kansas, where the local paper reported that ‘Rev. H. Milner Black, of London, England, who during the past four years has had a charge in Melbourne, Australia, has accepted a call to the pastorate of the Christian church’ (*Salina Daily Republican*, 5 November 1892).

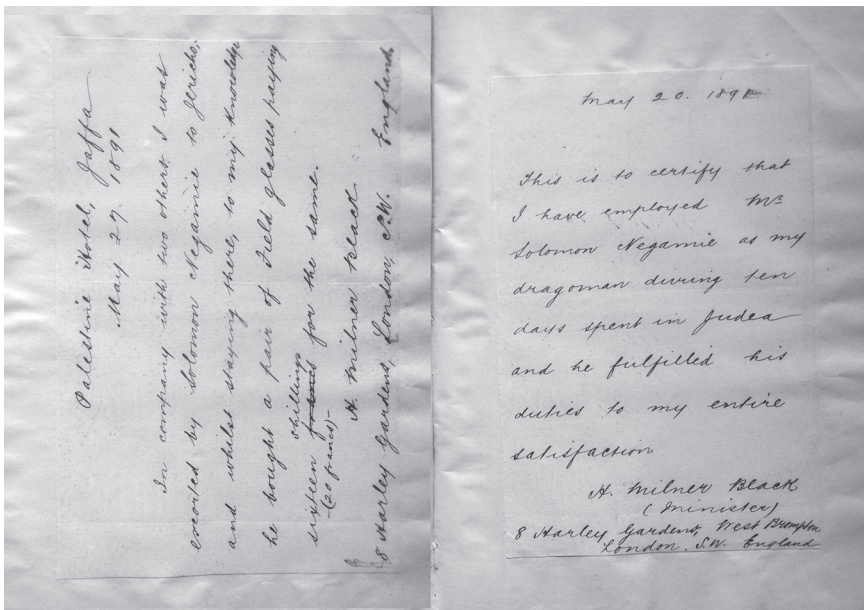


Figure 20 SN 50 and SN 53: Letters from H. Milner Black.

Black's stories of his travels in Australia and the Middle East went down well in Salina. A couple of months after his arrival he gave a popular talk on the theme 'If you had money enough to pay for a trip around the world, do you think you would enjoy yourself?' (One presumes the answer was 'yes.'). The reporter from the *Daily Republican* thoroughly enjoyed himself: 'The pictures are splendid. The lecture is entertaining. The photographs of Aborigines are unique' (*Salina Daily Republican*, 25 January 1893). A few weeks later Black put on an even better show, with a pageant giving the citizens of land-locked Kansas a window onto (his own interpretation of) a wider world. As the *Daily Republican* again reported: 'A very interesting special service will be presented at the Christian church tomorrow (Sunday) evening. Six ladies and six gentlemen will take part in presenting a missionary dialogue, written especially for the occasion by the pastor H. Milner Black. The ladies will appear in the costumes of the heathen lands for which they plead' (*Salina Daily Republican*, 4 March 1893). Did some Salina lady dress up in faux 'Middle Eastern' costume as one of Rev. Black's 'heathens'? More illustrated lectures followed, in which two remote and exotic locales – the Orient and outer space – were presented to his audience:

A good audience attended Rev. H. Milner Black's second lecture in his 'Tour Around the World' series last evening. Beginning with Egypt, he gave much interesting information concerning that country, his descriptions being accompanied by splendid views. Mr. Black related his experiences in climbing the pyramids, etc., in a happy vein. After reciting some incidents on board the ship which carried him to Jerusalem, he gave an interlude in which some astronomical views were displayed, showing the earth in motion, the action of the tides, transit of Venus, and many other interesting illustrations showing the movements of the heavenly bodies. The views and lecture on Holy Land combined interest with instruction.

Salina Daily Republican, 2 March 1894

We do not know whether Solomon Negima made an appearance in any of Black's lectures.

Hugh Milner Black's tenure as pastor in Salina was relatively brief. In late 1893, he went on a visit to Australia, and returned with a wife, the former Alice Jean McCullough: 'This was not as great a surprise as Mr. Black thought it would be' (*Kansas City Gazette*, 1 November 1893). Their daughter, Dorothy, was born

in Salina the following year. The family left Kansas to return to England in late 1894, although they returned to Salina for a period in 1916. The Black family settled in Brighton, where Hugh appears in the 1901 and 1911 censuses as an 'Optician and Pharmaceutical Chemist'. He patented several optical devices, including an illuminated advertising sign and various apparatuses for testing eyesight. In later life, he became active in local politics. He was Mayor of Brighton in 1923–4 and received the Freedom of the Borough of Brighton in 1948 for his work in corporation housing and education. His youngest son, Tom Campbell Black, became a famous aviator, who won the London to Melbourne Air Race in 1934.

But to return to the expedition led by Solomon Negima in May 1891. Rev. Walker's account of this in *A Colored Man Abroad* may be supplemented by contemporary newspaper reports of his lectures and sermons after his return to the United States. Many of these are collected in the preface to Floyd's biography. Like Rev. Black in Kansas, Rev. Walker informed and entertained American audiences with his impressions of the Orient, in a series of Sunday evening talks at his church. The former field-hand spoke to congregations in rural Georgia about Egyptian agriculture. His experiences in Palestine lent conviction and authority to his preaching of the Gospel:

He did not go into details about his journey, but with a wonderful power of seizing upon leading scenes and incidents and putting them before his audience, with their vivid illustrations and comforting lessons, the preacher held his vast congregation spellbound for about an hour. It was in itself a scene well worth witnessing, to behold this earnest and really eloquent man, with his deep and resonant voice, and genuinely magnetic manner, telling his story to breathless and sympathetic listeners, who crowded every inch of sitting and standing room in the church. This ovation was a great compliment to the humble man of God, who spoke in grateful terms of those who had sent him on his memorable journey; and every one of his people must have felt fully repaid when, in summing up the results of his trip and the analysis of his observations, he declared that after seeing and investigating the Holy Land for himself, he felt more than ever that God's Word is true. If any one is skeptical about the Bible, its history and its sacred truth and traditions, said this preacher, let him go to Palestine, and he will be skeptical no longer.

Augusta Evening News, 6 July 1891

The *New York Age* for 22 August 1891 gives a fuller account of the three minsters' itinerary than that in *A Colored Man Abroad*:

After leaving Jerusalem, it was my privilege to travel pretty thoroughly over Palestine, and to take in a portion of Asia Minor. After visiting Jerusalem and the places adjacent, we took a trip of several days on horseback to the Dead Sea, River Jordan, Jericho, Gilgal, Valley of Judea, Hebron, and other places. Beside our dragoman and a man on horseback with provisions, we have to have a guard – a bedouin. . . . There were three of us as tourists, then our guide, guard and porter.

He bathed in the Jordan, which presumably caused Solomon Negima less anxiety than Ellen Miller's proposed dip, and in the Dead Sea.

Solomon Negima (alias Marmaduke Pickthall's friend Suleymân), as we have seen, took particular pride in his ability to hold his own in scriptural discussions with clergymen – and, when it was required of him, to find Biblical associations in random trees, such as that upon which Judas supposedly hanged himself. As Rev. Walker describes the sites of Biblical events, one has to wonder how much of this is Solomon's narration. Some of the places described, such as the ruins of the inn where the Good Samaritan took the injured man, seem unlikely, but we know that Solomon was capable of making these things seem plausible. I like to imagine Walker and Solomon, both men of detailed scriptural knowledge, egging one another on with their acquaintance with the more obscure passages in the Old and New Testaments, and claims at identifying the locations where they took place.

For all the adventures and spiritual experiences of his three-month stay in Europe and the Middle East, Rev. Walker was glad to return to the United States. After nine days at sea he wrote: 'Just land me in New York. I know when I've had enough' (Walker 1892: 146). Like H. Milner Black at his white church in Kansas, he spoke to his black congregation in Georgia about the United States as a model of Christian 'civilization', in contrast to the 'heathens' he had encountered on his travels:

He paid a telling tribute to this country when he said that he would not exchange it for any he had seen. He contrasted the terrors and persecutions of heathen lands with the glorious liberty of America, where Christian churches raised their spires to heaven, and all men may worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and under their own vine

and fig tree. Where there is no church there is no civilization, and he wanted his people to appreciate their advantages, and aid him by doing their duty to God and their fellow men.

Augusta Evening News, 6 July 1891

As I discussed above, we cannot view Charles T. Walker's account of his travels solely through the lens of his race. Although he presents an articulate analysis of his reception as a black man in America and in Europe, in the Middle East this is complicated by his position as a relatively wealthy foreigner, and as a Christian. His description of life in Egypt and Palestine presents the same tropes of eastern life as those of almost all other travellers – black or white – from veiled women, to the custom of baksheesh. *A Colored Man Abroad* is no more or less a piece of Orientalist discourse than *Alone Through Syria* or *From Oxford to Palestine*.

The topic of African-American travellers in the Middle East has not yet been subject to extensive scholarly exploration. David Klatzker's unpublished PhD thesis on *American Christian Travelers in the Holy Land* (Klatzker 1987) contains an invaluable discussion of black travellers in the region in the nineteenth century. He emphasizes that such visitors 'came from an intensely Christian culture', where the church was often central to community life (Klatzker 1987: 208). Yet there were factors which rendered black travel writers less likely to speak in a distinctively African-American voice to a black readership:

It seems likely that the greater affluence and higher education of those blacks who managed to visit the Holy Land set them significantly apart from their community and made their attitudes toward the land and its inhabitants far less predictable. Because these black travelers often sought a white readership for their travel accounts, they may have tried to follow the conventions of white travel literature; accordingly, it may have been more difficult for them to express themselves in language more typical of their own black roots.

Klatzker 1987: 209

In the case of Charles T. Walker, I would disagree. While there can be no doubt that he addressed his congregation in Augusta primarily through his lectures and sermons rather than through published accounts of his travels, *A Colored Man Abroad* speaks to wider audiences in a way that does not defer completely to 'white' travel writing convention. Walker writes openly of the ways in which his race has affected his experiences, and in Christian scripture he finds a

universal language that can speak to the profoundly Christian American society of the day.

In the works of other nineteenth-century African-American travellers, race and religion are constructed in different ways. In the following sections, I offer discussions of two other travel writers, David Dorr and William Sampson Brooks, who provide interesting contrasts to the work of Charles T. Walker.

David F. Dorr (c. 1827–72)

Early African-American writers tended to draw attention to their race in the title of their works – or perhaps their publishers did so for them. Such accounts are presented to audiences as curious and singular in a dual sense: as tales of the Orient, and as tales by black writers. Rev. Walker's title may have been inspired by a work published in 1858, *A Colored Man Round the World*, by David F. Dorr (Dorr 1858, new edition with notes Dorr and Schueller 1999).

On the title page of his book, Dorr is described only as 'A Quadroon', and his name is not given. In the terminology of the time, this meant that he was of only one-quarter black ancestry, yet classified in most jurisdictions legally as black on the basis of the 'one drop rule'. Abolitionists often focused on slaves whose ancestry was almost all white, or who looked white, as a way of showing that slavery was unjust – although at the same time reinforcing established racial stereotypes. Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a notorious example, with its clichés of the 'tragic mulatto', a stock character in the sentimental literature of the day (Raimon 2004: 88–119).

As Malini Johar Schueller makes clear in her introduction to *A Colored Man Abroad*, Dorr's identity was more complex than the sum of the colour of his skin (or his mother's skin) and his legal status. His crafting of his travel narrative places him in a privileged position, as a commentator on foreign sights and ways. He describes himself in places – without irony – as a 'southern gentleman'. He was from New Orleans, socially and culturally a very different world to Walker's home in rural Georgia. He was light-skinned enough to pass for white, and had received an education. He travelled in Europe and the Near East as a slave, in the service of a master with whom he had a family-like (or, indeed, familial) relationship,² on the promise of manumission on his return.

When this promise was broken, he fled north to Ohio, where he published his book at his own expense, worked as a clerk, and became an active although not very successful public speaker. A wound received in the Civil War (where he fought on the side of the Union) led to permanent disability and poor health, and he died in 1872, in his early forties.

Dorr did not write a slave narrative, but his book, the work of an escaped slave, was received as such – and as evidence of the intelligence and sensitivity of its author and his race. *A Colored Man Round the World*, however, is a much more complex work than simply an abolitionist tract, and reveals many tensions of race, gender and social class. Dorr's self-identification as a 'quadroon' is significant. In America, he is black and a slave. In Europe, he freely 'passes' for white. He downplays the presence of his master, and narrates his own experiences independently. Interactions with other black people and African culture show neither complete identification nor complete rejection. He claims Egypt as an African civilization, with a telling nod to his own acquaintance with the Classical Greek culture which was held to be the foundation of modern European and American 'civilization': 'who were the Egyptians? Ask Homer if their lips were not thick, their hair curly, their feet flat and their skin black' (Dorr 1858: 11). On the other hand, he joins other passengers in goading a black boatman, and mocks black eunuchs in the Ottoman harem. There is an interesting exchange in which Dorr, a slave himself, attempts to purchase a girl through his guide, although it is not entirely clear whether this is as a slave, or temporarily as a prostitute (Dorr 1858: 123–4).

One interaction is especially revealing. In Constantinople, Dorr saw a free black man named Frank Parish, from Nashville, cause a stir by approaching the Sultan in a friendly manner and shaking his hand. The stunned Sultan took his presumptuous behaviour in good humour. Dorr later met Parish in Athens. Parish said that he had seen Dorr in Constantinople too, but had not dared to approach him, since he was an American, and Parish himself was a mere barber. The implication is that the missed connection had more to do with race – or perceived race – than class. To Parish, and to everyone else in Constantinople, Dorr appears not as a black slave, but a white gentleman.

Dorr's account of European and Middle Eastern travel is dramatically different to that of Charles T. Walker. The authors' race is all they truly have in common; they are works of completely different genres. In contrast to the Rev.

Walker's gentle humour and piety, Dorr is genteel and urbane, whether talking politics with fellow travellers (who assume him to be white), flirting with maidservants, or smuggling two hundred contraband cigars into France inside his overcoat. The difference is clearest in their responses to the Holy Land. Dorr managed to have a certain amount of fun in Egypt, at the pyramids ('my dragoman insisted on my crawling in and seeing the wonders, but I could make nothing out of its hollow': Dorr 1858: 169), but Palestine made him lose his patience entirely. Walker defied anyone to remain a sceptic after seeing the Holy Land. Dorr was driven to scepticism after hearing so many descriptions of sites as being the exact place where a Biblical event occurred: 'I came to Jerusalem with a submissive heart, but when I heard all the absurdities of these ignorant people, I was more inclined to ridicule right over these sacred dead bodies, and spots, than pay homage' (Dorr 1858: 186; on Dorr's complex 'Orientalism', see further Lubin 2007).

Charles T. Walker bathed in the Jordan. So did David Dorr, but he also found its water a good mixer for *eau de vie*.

William Sampson Brooks (1865–1931)

Rev. Walker's experiences, and his purpose in documenting them, are much closer to those of Dr. William Sampson Brooks (1865–1931), also a pastor, who published two travel books: *What a Black Man Saw in a White Man's Country* (Brooks 1899), on Britain and Scandinavia, and *Footprints of a Black Man* (Brooks 1915), on the Holy Land. Brooks, in contrast to Walker or Dorr, was two generations removed from slavery, his father's parents being the most recent slaves in his family. He writes in constant remembrance of 'the many hardships that were the inevitable lot of my people in the dark days of slavery' (Brooks 1915: 20), and reflects in many places on his position and reception as a black man in Europe and the Near East. Brooks' account is also of interest because he makes some mention of dragomans, and of the tourist experience in Palestine and Egypt.

Dr. Brooks was born and educated in Maryland, but spent his career before his eastern travels with African Methodist Episcopal parishes in Chicago and Minneapolis. In Minnesota, he developed an interest in the Swedish language

and culture of the large numbers of immigrants who were arriving in the state in the late nineteenth century. He learned Swedish and visited Sweden and Norway. In 1904, he went as a delegate to the World's Fourth Sunday School Convention in Jerusalem, representing the African Methodist Episcopal Church; he spoke on the current state of African-American education and churches. He and a fellow minister were the only black passengers on the voyage, and he found himself conspicuous everywhere. In London, street waifs yelled after him 'There he goes, the African Prince!' – which unfortunately turned out to be a reference to an actual African prince who had recently been arrested (Brooks 1915: 18). In Constantinople, he recalls ashamedly how he turned away in revulsion from a 'wretchedly repulsive and untidy Negro woman near St. Sophia' who reached out to him in recognition as one of her own race. Statues of powerful African eunuchs were strange, but to Brooks more acceptable, representatives of the black population of the Ottoman Empire (Brooks 1915: 91–2). Half a century earlier, David Dorr had not been so impressed.

Brooks longed to see 'Jerusalem, the Mecca of my dreams, the goal of my fondest aspirations' (Brooks 1915: 20). He wrote with the modest ambition of describing to the reader 'foreign lands, strange people, their peculiar ideas, customs, traditions and habitations, as they affected, impressed and interested me in their observation', but with an added sense of responsibility, because 'so few of my race have enjoyed this rare privilege and opportunity' (Brooks 1915: 5–6). He had the latter wish in common with Charles T. Walker. He also longed to see Africa, but had a rude awakening in Algiers, where he was constantly hassled for baksheesh:

All along the journey I have reveled in joyous anticipations of my glad reception at the hands of my fellow countrymen in my native land, Africa.

Land of fondest yearning and happy dreams! How often in imagination I had kissed her verdant hills and sunny slopes. How proudly I had planned that I should greet my native brother and extend to him the glad hand of fellowship. But, alas, how sadly and rudely was I to awake from this alluring vision.

Brooks 1915: 42

He had a pleasanter experience in Palestine, where he was guided by a dragoman named Shukrey, who reminded him of *Psalms* 46:1 ('God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble'):

Young men and women, also children, besieged us and only the invincible and determined dragoman was able to disperse them and save our backsheesh. Fully equipped with stout Arab horses, maps, guide books, tents and the indispensable dragoman, we pursued our course. The dragoman was the essential Factor, the *homo sapiens*, in this expedition.

He must outline the route, describe, – and he did with unflinching accuracy and unswerving patience; – I repeat, he must describe, and if need be, describe some more, for by some imp of perversity, no party of tourists can travel in perfect unity and system; – there is always some laggard on a wild goose chase and tangent to conveniently ‘catch up’ when the tale is ended, and the dragoman must repeat the same narrative for the edification of the belated tourist. The dragoman must supervise, improvise, camping outfit, meals, itinerary, and upon his masterly genius depends the preservation of our lives, our health, our comfort and our pocket-book. In every trying ordeal he is our rock of refuge, our very present help.

Brooks 1915: 123–4

Shukrey, like Solomon Negima, had a comprehensive knowledge of Christian scripture, which he quoted at length and related to the party’s surroundings. This approach went down very well with Rev. Brooks, just as it had with Rev. Walker.

These three books, *A Colored Man Abroad*, *A Colored Man Round the World* and *Footprints of a Black Man*, show the diversity of African-American experiences of the Middle East. Charles T. Walker’s experience of the Holy Land appears to have been similar to that of his fellow black minister, William Sampson Brooks, but also to that of his white English companion, H. Milner Black. David Dorr’s rake’s progress through Europe and the Middle East may have spoken to the abolitionist movement, but his air of urbane naughtiness also recalls irreverent (white) travellers such as W. M. Thackeray, Gustave Flaubert or Mark Twain.

Solomon’s red cap

Silas X. Floyd’s biography of Rev. Walker contains several photographs. In one of these, taken shortly after the minister returned from his travels in the Holy Land, he is wearing a fez (Floyd 1902: 146; see Fig. 21). As I noted above, Walker bought a fez in Alexandria and wore it in Egypt, but his letter to Solomon Negima also reveals that he swapped a silk handkerchief for Solomon’s own ‘red cap’. The hat he wears in the photograph may be either one.



Figure 21 Rev. Charles T. Walker wearing a fez.

Rev. Walker acquired other souvenirs from the Middle East. He took bottles of water and some pebbles from both the Dead Sea and the river Jordan. (We might presume that a man of the cloth would not have mixed this with liquor, as David Dorr did, or sterilized it, as did another of Solomon Negima's clients, Ella L. Goodknight – see SN 35.) He also kept an album of autographs; I am not aware if this has survived. He records that a fellow traveller in Germany drew his portrait in it, and that a Belgian steamer passenger also contributed a picture of the group. Walker was an enthusiastic collector of souvenirs. From a later trip to Cuba, he brought back 'four Spanish rifles, a large supply of Mauser bullets, one machete, some cocoa, some coffee, some walking sticks made of iron wood, a Cuban pitcher, etc.' (Floyd 1902: 86).

Some of Solomon Negima's other clients mention shopping for souvenirs. Bendix Hallenstein (SN 10) records that while his party were in Damascus:

... large caravans arrived from Persia and Mecca, and amongst the Eastern productions with which the camels were laden were beautiful old rugs and silks, which soon found their way into the bazaars for our inspection. And here again I was overruled by the woman's vote, for some of these things are now on their way to that far distant isle in the south; and if my friends visit us in our mountain home, they shall be welcome to squat on rugs that came from Persia and Araby, made many centuries ago by the hands of some fair Muslim woman – perhaps in the harem of Mahomet himself.

Hallenstein 1894

Hallenstein, who protests too much when he claims that his wife and niece were the only keen shoppers, recreates a stylized, essentialized 'Orient' in distant New Zealand.

Curios from the Holy Land were also popular souvenirs among visitors to many of the great nineteenth-century World's Fairs or Exhibitions. They were on sale at the Chicago World's Fair, discussed in Chapter 3. In August 1877, Rolla Floyd ran a stall at the Crystal Palace in London (the structure in which the 1851 Great Exhibition had been held), selling olive wood from Jerusalem – and promoting tours – on behalf of Thomas Cook. Floyd met an old acquaintance, Thomas Blake MP, whom he had guided in Palestine four years earlier. Blake bought ten pounds of olive wood, and gave Floyd a tour of the House of Commons and House of Lords (Parsons 1981: 28–9).

Rev. Walker must have brought back a fair haul of olive wood trinkets from the Holy Land, as gifts for friends and parishioners. The date of his letter to Solomon Negima, almost a year after his visit, suggests that his supply was running low. He asks Solomon's help in getting 'a few relics such as two or three pen holders from the mother of pearl, a blotter made of olive wood, and some few other things'. Walker was not the only client for whom Solomon acted as souvenir dealer. Mr and Mrs J. S. Thompson thanked him for sending them an ink stand via a fellow client: 'It is very nice, and we are very much pleased with it' (SN 44). Aside from their interest and amusement as souvenirs (recall how pleased Ellen Miller was with her Egyptian cat statuette), such items acted as touch-stones for those who never had the chance to visit the Holy Land for themselves. For members of Rev. Walker's circle, an olive wood blotter would have been an interesting complement to his tales of the Orient.

Floyd House

Rolla Floyd and the Adams Colony

To set the scene for Solomon Negima's later life, after his retirement from actively working as a dragoman, we must step back to the 1860s. Mark Twain, in *The Innocents Abroad*, recounts how:

At Jaffa we had taken on board some forty members of a very celebrated community. They were male and female; babies, young boys and young girls; young married people, and some who had passed a shade beyond the prime of life. I refer to the 'Adams Jaffa Colony.' Others had deserted before. We left in Jaffa Mr. Adams, his wife, and fifteen unfortunates who not only had no money but did not know where to turn or whither to go. Our forty were miserable enough in the first place, and they lay about the decks seasick all the voyage, which about completed their misery.

Twain 1869: 613

The Adams Colony was led by George J. Adams (1811–80), a man who had led a varied life as an actor, disgraced Mormon elder, and grifter. In the 1850s, he had managed to get himself excommunicated from three separate branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints for drunkenness, immorality and embezzlement (Obenzinger 1999: 180). With his followers, mostly from New England, Adams aimed to set up a colony in Palestine to prepare for the Second Coming. It did not get off to a promising start. When they arrived, in September 1866, the colonists had to spend six weeks camping on a beach covered in sewage and offal, next to a cemetery, because Adams had lied about them being able to get land easily (Obenzinger 1999: 183). There was increasing disillusionment within the colony over Adams' behaviour, in particular his drunkenness, as documented in colonists' letters home to their families in the

United States (Holmes 2003: 132–8). Most left within the next year or two. By 1868, Adams himself had gone off to England ‘to seek further recruits’. Twain’s description of the episode as a ‘complete fiasco’ barely does it justice.

Possibly the only person to come out of the affair well was Rolla Floyd, who has already appeared several time in these pages, as a colleague and employer of Solomon Negima. Floyd had brought a stagecoach from Maine and received the concession from the Ottoman government to run a service over the new Jaffa–Jerusalem road. He became a very successful dragoman and tour operator (Obenzinger 1999: 185). Several of Solomon’s letters mention Floyd, and Floyd’s own correspondence preserves copies of several testimonial letters, including one from Ulysses S. Grant:

Jerusalem, Palestine
February 17, 1878

Mr. Rolla Floyd

Dear Sir,

Before leaving Jerusalem allow me to thank you for myself and the entire party with me for the great assistance you have rendered us on our visit to all points of interest in and about the Holy City. Your thorough knowledge of Bible references, history & traditions of all parts of interest in the Holy Land and your clear & concise explanation of the same has very much added to the interest and pleasure of our visit.

Very truly your,

U. S. Grant

Parsons 1981: 36

Floyd’s letters reveal a hard-working man, who was zealous in protecting his interests against Thomas Cook and Son, for whom he once worked, but later found himself in vicious competition with (Parsons 1981). Other survivors of the Adams Colony, the Clark family, also found success in the tourist business, and even opened an office in New York to recruit clients (Holmes 2003: 152). Solomon Negima worked with the Clarks as well.

In 1870, missionaries from the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) came to Jaffa, and baptized several of the surviving members of the Adams Colony (Obenzinger 1999: 185). After the death of his first wife, Floyd married another former Adams follower, Mary Jane Clark Leighton, a member of the Clark family. In 1902, when he was seventy

years old, Floyd bought a large house in Jerusalem and retired there. In 1910, Mrs Floyd was baptized by RLDS missionaries. Her husband was not. According to one account, he insisted that his baptism by Adams was valid, and this was accepted (Holmes 2003: 152). It is also possible that he was sceptical of the whole venture. In letters to his family he was very clear about his lack of religious feeling: 'I am not religious as you very well know' (Parsons 1981: 67).

Mrs Floyd was baptized by Gomer T. Griffiths and Frederick G. Pitt, in the Jordan. On January 25 1911, Pitt wrote that 'We had to go to the Jordan again last week to baptize three more, a father and his two grown [children] . . . – pure Arabs, and good, refined people' (Braby 2008: 49–50; Holmes 1983: 56–64; see Fig. 22). These were Solomon Negima, his daughter Lulu and son Aziz. It is difficult to establish the precise composition of the Negima or Njeim family. Carol Braby, who worked with the original archival materials, treats Olinda and Lulu as one and the same, the latter being a nickname (Braby 2008: 50), but they were two sisters (I am grateful to Mona Zakhour, Solomon's great-granddaughter, for this information). Pitt's original letter mentions that 'the mother and two daughters have expressed a desire to be baptized and will doubtless unite with us soon.' The only other Njeim sibling



Figure 22 Solomon Negima's baptism.

whose name we know is Job. There are numerous places in the reports where inaccuracies of names, ages, genders and relationships may have crept in.

A few months later, new missionaries, Hannah and Rees Jenkins arrived to replace the Pitts. In October that year, Rolla Floyd died. Hannah Jenkins recorded that the missionaries arranged 'to rent the Floyd house, and in December we moved in. Brother Carr and family, brother Njeim and family, brother Jenkins and myself; and thus the mission house was established' (Braby 2008: 54–5). Solomon Njeim/Negima translated services into Arabic for worshippers. A group photograph taken in 1912 shows the members of the RLDS mission and residents of Mission House (see Fig. 23). On 14 September 1913, three new RLDS missionaries arrived in Jerusalem: Ulysses W. Greene and Edna and Arthur Koehler. The Koehlers' letters home to the United States have been preserved and published, and give an insight into everyday life at Mission House in this period (Braby ed. 2006). They do not mention any members of the Njeim family by name, as Braby notes, but then they do not mention many of their wide circle of colleagues and acquaintances in Jerusalem. Letters to family were saved instead for news about the couple, their



Figure 23 Solomon Negima (front row, left) and family with RLDS missionaries at Floyd House, 1912.

work and travels. Solomon accompanied Greene on a mission tour to Roum in Lebanon in the spring of 1914 (Holmes 1983: 81–2). In November 1914, after the outbreak of the First World War, the Jenkinses, the Koehlers and Greene were ordered back to the United States (Braby 2008: 59). It is at this point that relationships began to break down.

Since all of the Americans had to leave, Greene went with Solomon and Olinda to the US Consul, Otis A. Glazebrook, and authorized them as resident caretakers of Mission House. He did so without informing the Jenkinses, on the assumption that they would be following him to Jaffa and the United States very soon. In fact, a combination of lack of money and typhoid fever kept them in Jerusalem until it was too late to leave, and they remained in Palestine for the duration of the First World War. Solomon understood that his appointment was effective from the visit to the Consul. The Jenkinses' view was that it only began once all the Americans had left – which they had not. Carol Freeman Braby, working from Hannah Jenkins' unpublished papers, recounts how the accusations and recriminations mounted (Braby 2008: 61–4). The Jenkinses suspected the Njeims of taking the rental income from Mission House for themselves, and alleged that Aziz had reported Rees Jenkins to the Ottoman authorities as a spy: 'many a sleepless night did we pass there on account of these false brethren.' A friend later wrote in the *Saints' Herald* about Rees Jenkins, and the 'vain troubles given him by some of his false brethren ... when certain natives who brought groundless imputations against him persecuted him' (Braby 2008: 62). In 1917, Rees Jenkins was arrested by the Ottoman police and, with other British and Americans, sent to a detention camp in Damascus. He died there in May 1918.

Jerusalem fell to British forces in December 1917. Some time after this, the Njeims were accused of illegally selling liquor to British soldiers in the Mission House. A correspondent wrote to Ulysses W. Greene that it was very difficult to get them to move: Solomon 'thinks he owns the place. The family has questionable reputation and has given Mrs. Jenkins no end of trouble. The day before September when they move, they are to receive 10 [pounds] 1 [shilling] and 5 [pence] more from the rental money if you decide.' Hannah added in a letter the same day that 'I have been in serious difficulty, chiefly on account of the cruel conduct of Solomon and family.' Greene replied, instructing her 'If you leave Jerusalem under present conditions, leave the property in care of the Consul with sister Olinda as caretaker, as agreed on while I was there. Please

see that they either have employment or leave with them a sufficient amount of money until we can reach them with funds from this country.' Greene told Hannah Jenkins to come back to the United States, leaving Solomon in charge: 'We expect by another summer to send missionaries into Jerusalem and shall want the house for that purpose. Give Books of Mormon and tracts to Solomon Njeim' (Braby 2008: 65–7). Her departure was delayed by poor health, and she finally left in May 1920.

Throughout this period, the Negima family were the only constant presence at Floyd House. Floyd had died in 1911, and his wife returned to the United States the following year. The Jenkinsons arrived months after Solomon and his children were baptized, and found them already in residence. The Koehlers and Greene were only in Jerusalem for a year. The Njeims could reasonably have regarded the Jenkinsons as interlopers. Seven letters from Edna Koehler and Ulysses W. Greene to Solomon and Olinda were kept with Solomon's testimonial book. They offer a picture of the warm relations between the correspondents – and evidence which Solomon and his family used to justify their continued custodianship of Floyd House.

The earliest letters were written in November 1914, as Greene and the Koehlers prepared to depart from Jaffa – and assumed that the Jenkinsons were soon to follow. Olinda, it seems, had wanted to go with them. Edna Koehler wrote to comfort her:

Do not fear. I think the government means to do its best for the people every while. Don't get lonely either. Just be busy with your fancy work and sewing, and almost before you know it, this war will be over, and once more will the missionaries return to cheer you up. . . . And if it is the lord's will, Olinda, that you should go to America, I think you will be able to go. But don't forget there is a work in Palestine to do also, and he may possibly want you to help in that work in your own land, so don't get discouraged.

SN 66; see Fig. 24

Greene wrote to her father that 'We are placing a heavy responsibility upon Olinda's shoulders and trust she will prove her ability. Help her, but don't add to her burden' (SN 67; see Fig. 25). He also briefed him on business matters: 'I instructed Bro Jenkins [*sic*] to supply you with funds from the German Book so you can get along for five or six months and by that time we will be able to

Jaffa - Nov. 11, 1914

Dear Sister:- How are you this morning?

I would just like to see your bright smiling face. Everything is as quiet and nice in Jaffa as can be. Do not fear. I think the government means to do its best for the people everywhere. Don't get lonely either. Just be busy with your fancy work and writing and almost before you know it this war will be over and once more all the missionaries return to cheer you up. I am still sorry to leave this country of charms.

Sunday Rev. Greene and all of us went up to the convent, and we had just all the nice oranges we could eat. I wish you could have been with us.

This morning we are going to the sea-side. After dark we went to the house of Simon, the Tanner.

Reminds me to your mother and father. You must cheer them up and make things as pleasant as possible. And as it is hard with Olinda that you should go to Geneva, I think you will be able to go. But don't forget there is a work in Palestine to do also, and she may possibly want you to help in that work so your own land

Figure 24 SN 66: Edna Koehler to Olinda Njeim.

ULYSSES W. GREENE
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
MISSION TO HAWAII, CHURCH

TO THE HONORABLE
SOLOMON NEGIMA
Jaffa, Nov. 11, 1914

Dear Sister:-

I hope before my departure you will have Victoria baptized and thus bring us more directly under God's blessing. We are placing a heavy responsibility upon Olinda's shoulders and trust she will prove her ability. Help her, but don't add to her burden.

Egy may want to stay on the place for a while but has friends to care for himself. He is strong and can work on his own land at Kalamalla and make a living if he tries. Another may leave Saturday via Beirut but I should go til Tuesday, direct to Alexandria if that is permitted.

Bro. C. S. Jenkins may reach here by that time. Don't cash our checks and will have difficulty getting them.

Reminds me of Egy and S. Brown. May God bless you all and keep you ever faithful to him.

Regards to your wife and the dear children.

Very greatly yours
U. W. Greene

and by the time we will be able to reach you with more.

I hope before my departure you will have Victoria baptized and thus bring us more directly under God's blessing. We are placing a heavy responsibility upon Olinda's shoulders and trust she will prove her ability. Help her, but don't add to her burden.

Egy may want to stay on the place for a while but has friends to care for himself. He is strong and can work on his own land at Kalamalla and make a living if he tries. Another may leave Saturday via Beirut but I should go til Tuesday, direct to Alexandria if that is permitted.

Bro. C. S. Jenkins may reach here by that time. Don't cash our checks and will have difficulty getting them.

Reminds me of Egy and S. Brown. May God bless you all and keep you ever faithful to him.

Regards to your wife and the dear children.

Very greatly yours
U. W. Greene

Figure 25 SN 67: Ulysses W. Greene to Solomon Negima.

Greene were not aware of the disputes at Mission House. In late 1915, Greene responded with concern to hints from Olinda that all was not well:

I want you to tell me how you are getting along at the mission house how much is being paid you each month? Are conditions pleasant? Your last letter intimated that they were not, but if you wrote me about unpleasant things, it never reached me. Write me freely, fully, and as soon as possible we will relieve the situation.

SN 70

Another significant passage is bracketed in Greene's letter to Solomon of the same date: 'We cannot send it [money] direct to you as they will only forward to American sitizens [*sic*], but Bro Jenkins will be instructed to pay to you from month to month, and to properly provide for you if he leaves' (SN 71).

The final letter in the collection dates to January 1919, written from Ulysses W. Greene in Independence, Missouri, to Solomon. He told of plans to send RLDS missionaries back to Palestine, perhaps even the Koehlers (although in the end it was not). Greene concludes:

We hope that you and family will do all that you can to help us build up the work, and that you will avoid everything that would enable the people to criticise or look with disfavor upon you, or that would hinder the success of our work. We shall need your assistance, and even though the city be filled with soldiers we hope you will succeed in keeping yourselves pure.

SN 73

The first sentence is bracketed in the margin. Solomon and his family were confirmed in their position at Mission House. It is tempting, however, to see in the concluding line a sly reference to the Njeims' rumoured role as bootleggers during the war. In a letter of 13 July 1922, Mary Jane Floyd made her own view on the affair known to Greene and his colleagues: 'Sr. Jenkins . . . remained and occupied and thought herself the owner. I have been trampled on all I want to be or will be' (Holmes 2003: 89).

Olinda and Aziz

In July 1920, Harry Passman, a new RLDS missionary, recorded Solomon's fears that tensions in Jerusalem would result in a civil war between Muslims on

the one hand and Christians and Jews on the other (Holmes 2003: 91). Solomon was blind in old age. According to Reed Holmes, in his publication on the letters of Ulysses W. Greene, Solomon 'had been blinded in a sandstorm while serving under Lord Kitchener, but continued to be very active. He took Apostle Greene to Lebanon and to the family home, a beautiful mansion at Roum at Mt. Lebanon' (Holmes 2003: 82). Kitchener had been in the Sudan on the Gordon Relief Expedition, but he was best known for his victories with the British Army there in the late 1890s. Solomon's story had grown in the telling: he cannot in any case have been blinded in the Sudan in 1885, since he built his whole career as dragoman after this date. Farid Hourani's character 'Saleem Nejm' was blind in old age, as was Marmaduke Pickthall's friend Suleymân (Chapter 4). Solomon died in late July 1933; the final packet of papers enclosed with the testimonial book are letters of condolence to Aziz and Lulu. A friend, Basil Matta, remembered Solomon as 'a respected and generous man who lived as a faithful husband, a good father and a loving grandfather' (SN 81).

The testimonial letters give very little information on Solomon's family life. There are occasional references to his wife and children (SN 44, 1894, relating to a trip taken in 1889 refers to a 'baby'), or generic 'family', and one to a brother (SN 28). The RLDS letters add four named children, Lulu, Olinda, Aziz and Job, to the family, who were old enough to be given responsibilities at Mission House in 1914. There may have been others. Absolutely nothing is known of Solomon's wife: she is rarely mentioned and never named, such as when Greene sends his 'regards to your wife and the dear children' (SN 67). From Olinda's US immigration papers, we know that her name was Salimeh. A reference to 'Sr Njeam' may refer to Olinda or to her mother (SN 71). She was still alive in 1933 (SN 81 and 82). 'Job and the little brother' mentioned by Ulysses W. Greene in a letter to Olinda are probably younger Negima siblings (SN 70). Among the other residents of Floyd House mentioned in the letters, none can be placed definitively in the Negima family. There was a Ma'alim Djarious or Djirius, who ran the German school (Holmes 1983: 79). Among his pupils, and/or daughters, were Victoria (nicknamed 'Queeny') and Olga (SN 68).

Olinda formed a close friendship with Edna Koehler. If Olinda is the 'baby' mentioned in SN 44, she was born around 1889; but she may not be. Farid Hourani gives a date of birth in 1898; her US immigration papers give 31 May

1900. Olinda could make lace, and Greene suggested she send it for sale in the United States (SN 70). She may well be the 'Arabic girl' mentioned in a letter home by Edna Koehler in December 1913, who had made her some handmade lace to send as a gift to her family (Braby ed. 2006: 71).

Olinda's Dream, in the title of her son Farid Hourani's semi-biographical book, is about the changes wrought by the creation of the state of Israel (Hourani 2000: 266–7). The historical Olinda's dream was to emigrate to the United States. Edna Koehler comforted her when the First World War got in the way of her plans. A year later, Ulysses W. Greene wrote to her evoking the beauty and prosperity of the United States, in a way which seems almost cruel:

Here we have the green grass everywhere, and beautiful trees that adorn the landscape. Nearly every village has a factory where people work and earn good money. They are very comfortable and happy.

I had hoped that you could have found employment and a good home over here, but the cruel war has upset all plans.

SN 70

Olinda's Dream recounts that she worked for several years in a clerical position with the British Mandate government in Jerusalem, before marrying 'Dr Sami Farah' in 1921. They had a daughter named Laila May, who became a haematologist in Philadelphia. The 'real' Olinda married Dr. Iskander Haurani and had three daughters and a son, Farid, who became a haematologist in Philadelphia. In 1979, Olinda, who had visited the United States several times before, achieved her 'dream' of 1914, when she emigrated and joined her son in Philadelphia. Her immigration case files record her father as Suleiman and her mother as Salimeh, and her maiden name as Neigeim or Najam.¹ She died in her eighties, and in her last illness, her son recalled her singing old German songs from her childhood, in the language she had learnt from her father, Solomon (Hourani 2000: 268). She has descendants through her daughters.

Olinda's Dream names another son, 'Sameer' (based on Job Negeim: see below), and tells the story of two other sisters, Lulu and 'Rosa'. 'Rosa' left Syria to become a famous singer in Egypt. She led a colourful personal life. During the Second World War, she was enlisted by British intelligence to travel to Syria and secure support for an Allied invasion. She was killed in a car crash in the Nile delta, and it was rumoured that she had been murdered by the British. To

fans of classic Egyptian cinema, this will all sound suspiciously familiar: it is the true story of the great diva Asmahan (1917–41; see Zuhur 2000).

Aziz ('Eziz' in the RLDS letters) is absent from *Olinda's Dream*. He was not a full-time resident at Mission House. In 1914, as they were leaving Jaffa, Ulysses W. Greene wrote to Solomon: 'Eziz may want to stay on the place for a time but has funds to care for himself. He is strong and can work on his own land at Ramalla, and make a living if he tries' (SN 67). He was in Lebanon for a period (SN 70). He married Anisseh Nahas (1905–86) in around 1924 and they had four children: two girls and two boys (the latter twins). The family remained in Palestine until at least 1933, the year of Solomon's death. The condolence letters to Aziz reveal that he was employed in the Public Works Department in Jerusalem. Letters to his wife's brother, Wadie A. Nahas, in Acre, suggest that he was considering a change of profession (SN 83; the relationship between the Negima and Nahas families is ambiguous, and may include blood ties as well as marriage). Aziz's whole family emigrated to the United States and settled in southern California, using the spelling 'Negeim' for their surname. Sources variously give his year of birth as 1890, 1900 or 1901. Aziz Suliman Negeim died in 1982, and is buried in Los Gatos Memorial Park in San Jose, California.

Job S. Negeim: The Arabian Baritone

Solomon's son Job is mentioned just once in the surviving letters, in Ulysses W. Greene's letter to Olinda of 30 November 1915 (SN 70): 'I suppose Queeny is in Haifa and that Job and the little brother are home. You wrote me Eziz had returned from Lebanon. Remember me to them all.' Outside the letters, however, he is the best documented of Solomon's children. In 1921, Job and his cousin George went to work with the RLDS mission in Lebanon. They were among four young men who made an especially favourable impression on the American missionaries, and were sent to study in the United States.

George Assaf Njeim (1900–2000) was born in New Zealand and held New Zealand citizenship, although he and his family returned to Lebanon when he was still a child. He recalled Ulysses W. Greene and his uncle, Solomon Negima's, visit to Roum in 1914:

My mother was acquainted with the English language because previously she was in New Zealand and that is where I was born. At the time of Brother Greene's visit I was 14 years of age, going on 15. I had already had three years of English in school. I was intrigued by this stranger, Ulysses W. Greene, the man with green eyes, so different from the dark-eyed people of the Middle East. We assembled around the table. Solomon would translate but since he was blind he could not read, so I would read the scripture in Arabic which Greene was quoting in English.

Holmes 1983: 101

George was baptized (he is the George mentioned in SN 73), and later moved to Jerusalem and lived in Mission House. Like his cousin Job, he studied in the United States. He became an RLDS minister (see e.g. *Great Bend Tribune*, Great Bend, Kansas, 17 January 1969).

Job was born on 2 December 1903. On 26 August 1921, he arrived at New York on the *Rotterdam* from Boulogne-sur-Mer. The manifest listed him as a student, able to read and write English, a Syrian from Jerusalem, whose father was 'Mr. Negeim, c/o Box 417, Jerusalem, Palestine' (see Fig. 27).² Job was bound for Graceland College, in Lamoni, Iowa, an RLDS-affiliated institution (Goehner 1997: 238).

As an RLDS college, Graceland held its students to high standards of personal conduct. There was an 8:00 pm curfew on campus, with lights-out at 10:30 pm. The regulations further specified that:

No student may indulge in dancing, the use of playing cards, tobacco, or intoxicants, profanity or rude or improper conduct. Persons addicted to the use of tobacco are not eligible for membership, but may be enrolled conditionally, and upon giving satisfactory evidence of having permanently abandoned the habit, may be admitted to full membership.

Graceland Record, Volume 2, Number 12, 15 April 1922: 15–16

Student functions were chaperoned, and women students needed written permission from their parents to 'accept the attentions of a gentleman friend'.

Job was enrolled in the 'Academy' programme, which prepared students who had not had the opportunity to attend high school for university studies (*Graceland Record*, Volume 2, Number 12: 70). His progress can be followed in the Graceland Yearbook *The Acacia*, which was published every three years. From the academic year 1925/26, he studied at the Teachers' Normal College in Pittsburg, Kansas (*The Acacia*, 1926; his cousin George appears in the same volume).

List 102. BOULOGNE-SUR-MER.

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN PASSENGERS FOR THE UNITED

ALL ALIENS arriving at a port of continental United States from a foreign port or a port of the insular possessions of the United States, and all aliens arriving at a port of said insular possessions: from a foreign port, a port of continental United States, or a port of the insular possessions of the United States.

S. S. ROTTERDAM

Passengers sailing from **BOULOGNE-SUR-MER**

ON 13TH JULY 1921

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13				
No. on List.	HEAD-TAX STATUS. (This column for use of Government officials only.)	NAME IN FULL.	Ages.		Sex.	Married or single.	Calling or occupation.	Able to—		Nationality, (Country of which citizen or subject.)	Race or people.	* Last permanent residence.		Final destination. (* Attached form permanent residents.)		
			Family name.	Given name.				Yrs.	Mos.			Read what language(s), if examples listed, or what ground.	Write.	Country.	City or town.	The name and complete address of nearest relative or friend in country whence alien came.
DECLINED	See Vol. 6585 - 90	VITANOVIC	SLAJA	27	M	FARMER	YES	SERVIAN	YES	YUGO-SLAVIA	YUGO-SLAVIAN	TETOVO	HUSBAND, MR. VITANOVIC, TETOVO.	MO	ST LOUIS	
DECLINED	See Vol. 6585 - 90	BOYOCEVIC	SAHARIJE	45	M	"	"	"	"	"	YUGO-SLAVIAN	KATNICE	WIFE, MRS. BOCA STOYCEVIC, KAT-NICE.	"	"	
DECLINED		NEGEIM	JOB	18	M	STUDENT	"	ENGLISH	"	PALESTINE	SYRIAN	PALESTINE	JERUSALEM	N.Y.	NEW-YORK CITY	
SUBMITTED		KOURKDJIAN	BARABED	40	M	JEWELLER	"	ARMENIAN	"	FRANCE	ARMENIAN	SYRIA	ALEP	"	BROOKLYN	
SUBMITTED	7-19-27	BAYROUTIAN	MILIA	30	F	W	TAILOR	NO	JOIN. SON	NO	"	"	"	"	"	
SUBMITTED		"	LEON	20	M	J	JEWELLERY	ARABIAN	YES	"	"	"	"	"	"	
SUBMITTED	UNDER \$8	GORGES	7-19-27	E	S	NONE	NO	UNDER AGE	NO	"	"	"	"	"	"	
SUBMITTED		LAUB	AKOBB	58	M	FARMER	YES	GERMAN	YES	YUGO-SLAVIA	GERMAN	YUGO-SLAVIA	ZOMBOLJA	BROTHER-IN-LAW, MR. PETER LEI-HER, VECTA UZA, ZOMBOLJA, YUGO-SLAV.	OHIO	CINCINNAT
SUBMITTED		"	ELIZABETH	58	F	HOUSE	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	

Figure 27 Passengers arriving at New York on the *Rotterdam*, 26 August 1921.

Job's musical career took off in Pittsburg. He was photographed with the Men's Glee Club for *The Kanza Pittsburg*, the Yearbook of the Kansas State Teachers' College (*The Kanza Pittsburg*, Vol 17, 1926: 211; see Fig. 28). The camera catches him staring out of shot, with a bulge in his cheek as if he is hiding chewing gum. The college's irreverent social diarist notes for Thursday 3 November that 'Job Neigiem talked to the 'Y' [YMCA] men this morning. Fine job, Job' (*The Kanza Pittsburg*, Vol 17, 1926: 261). This cannot have been the first or the last time that Job would hear that joke. In March, the Glee Club performed across the Missouri state border in Joplin, to considerable acclaim. Readers of the local paper were informed that 'Among the soloists with the club is Job Negeim, tenor, an Arab from Jerusalem, who has a voice of unusual quality. Negeim was educated in German schools in Jerusalem' (*Joplin Globe*, 7 March 1926). His solo pieces included 'A Bedouin Love Song' by Ciro Pinsuti (*Joplin Globe*, 11 March 1926), with lyrics by Bayard Taylor, an American poet

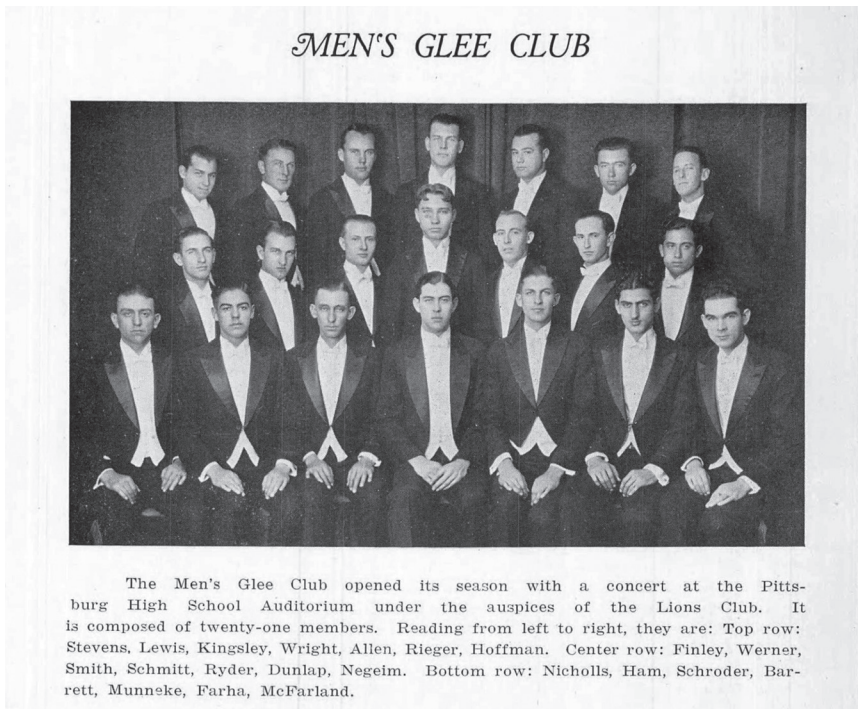


Figure 28 Job Negeim (second row, right) in the Glee Club of the Kansas State Teachers' College.

who travelled in the Middle East. It marries romantic, faux-Oriental words with a rousing Italian operetta-style tune. A United Press piece about Job was picked up by papers as far away as Minnesota: 'A young Arab is soloist with the Men's Glee Club of the Pittsburg State Teachers' College here this season. He is Job Negeim who came to America from Jerusalem four years ago to study music. Because of his vibrant tenor voice he is much in demand throughout the state as a soloist' (*The Forum*, Moorhead, Minnesota, 25 February 1926). Job performed on a regional RLDS-owned radio station, KMBC in Kansas City (see e.g. *The Hutchinson News*, Hutchinson, Kansas 26, 29 and 30 November 1928).

Job's greatest exposure in the press was, however, when he stepped into his father's shoes, as a dragoman. Newspapers across the United States, from California to New York carried the following story, circulated by the United Press:

Biblical 'Needle's Eye' Gate in Jerusalem Wall

Pittsburg, Kan. – The 'needle's eye' referred to in the New Testament is a small gate in the wall of Jerusalem, not a sewing needle at least in the opinion of Job Negeim, twenty-three-year-old Arab guide to the Holy Land, now studying music at the Pittsburg State Teacher's college.

The Biblical passage to which this modern Job has adduced a new meaning is in Mark 10: 25, wherein Jesus chided those who 'trust in riches' saying: 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.'

'The needle's eye,' says Negeim, 'commonly misunderstood as the eye of a sewing needle, is known to Jerusalem as a small gate within a larger gate in the city walls. It is for the use of pedestrians after the larger gate is closed for the night for protection. The gate is so low that an average-sized man must stoop low to go through it.'

The story, which has been told for centuries, may well have come from Solomon's repertoire.

On 16 May 1927, Job was naturalized as a US citizen, under the name 'Job Sleman Negein'. At the time, he was living at 112 W. Jefferson in Pittsburg, Kansas; his witnesses were J. W. Tront and Mac A. Allen. Over the following years, we can follow his musical career here and there. In 1929, he returned to Graceland, and performed with the College's A Cappella Chorus, although he was no longer a student. *The Acacia* for 1929 reported that 'a joint recital featuring Job Negeim, Arabian baritone, was an outstanding event in the

musical life at Graceland' (*The Acacia* 1929: 70). In the early 1930s, he broadcast from time to time on the New York radio station WRNY (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 24 December 1931; 8 January 1932; 12 February 1932). At the time of the 1930 census, he was living at 270 Huntingdon Avenue in Boston: his occupation was listed as 'none' and his language as 'Jewish'. He lived at the same address until at least 1947. In 1940, he was employed at the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Falmouth, Massachusetts, as a janitor (see the MBL newsletter, *The Collecting Net*, 15.1, 29 June 1940: 19).

Job enlisted in the US Army on 14 October 1942 and served in the Second World War. His enlistment record gives his 'Branch' as 'Branch Immaterial – Warrant Officers'. This may imply some specialist skill set; as an Arabic speaker, he may have been employed as an interpreter.

Farid Hourani's fictionalized family history supports this. Job fits many of the attributes of the character 'Sameer', the youngest Negima sibling, whose date of birth is also given as 1903. Sameer is 'The American Baritone'. He was educated at Bishop Gobat School and emigrated in 1921, with the financial support of his family. Hourani's account at no point mentions the RLDS, but it is clear that it was the Negima family's position at Floyd House and friendship with RLDS missionaries in the United States that led to Job's enrolment at Graceland College. Hourani furthermore has Sameer living and studying in Philadelphia, not Lamoni, Iowa, before moving to Kansas City to sing on the radio, where he 'dressed in Arabic attire as the Sheik of Arabya [and] posed for newspaper ads' (Hourani 2000: 133). Sameer gains the patronage of the owner of the radio station, Mrs Alice James, and moves with her to live and continue his musical career in Falmouth on Cape Cod and in New York City. The relationship between Sameer and Alice James was not clear to his family: they may have been lovers, or had more of a mother-son relationship, suggested by Sameer's friendship with her son, who was the same age as him. Sameer worked at the 'Maritime Research Center' in Woods Hole, and continued to sing as an amateur. When the Second World War broke out, Sameer was recruited by US Intelligence and posted to Jerusalem. He was killed in a bombing there in July 1946.

'Sameer' is not Job, although many elements of their life stories are the same. Job did not die in the war, but returned to Massachusetts. He had found a new creative outlet, in addition to his singing – one which evidently, as can be seen from his employment as a janitor, took some time before it paid the bills. By

1949, he was working as a master potter at the Old Sturbridge Village Museum and Crafts Center, Massachusetts, which recreated New England life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (*Atlantic News-Telegraph*, Iowa, 5 May 1949). It was not a hobbyist's position: his newly-appointed colleague had studied at prestigious centres in the United States and Europe, and had had his work exhibited. Job also operated his own studio, The Potter's Wheel, on Cape Cod, and produced distinctive pieces with colourful glazes (Vasefinder Museum, www.vasefinder.com/online_mus.html, accessed 20 July 2015). One sits on my writing desk.

I have not been able to trace Job any further in the records (nor can I find 'Alice James'). In 1966, one of his former students at Sturbridge exhibited her work at the Kirkland Arts Center in Binghamton, New York (*The Courier*, Clinton, New York, 13 October 1966). Job Negeim's work can still sometimes be found for sale in galleries – and, like his father's testimonial book, on eBay.

From Khartoum to Jerusalem

Solomon Negima, his life and career, provide a narrative thread, linking the associated stories of dozens of clients, friends and family members. Although sometimes he fades into the background, his own agency is present in the selection and curation of his collection of testimonial letters. We know more about him than we do about any other tourist dragoman of the period. Much of this comes from the new archival materials in his book and associated letters, but much of it was there to be found in existing, known accounts. It would have been futile to comb the hundreds of books and journals of Palestinian travellers in the late nineteenth century, looking for the name and personality of a single dragoman. The testimonial book supplied the connection – the specifics of time, place and people – that made such research possible. Solomon is doubtless still out there to be found in more travel books, either under his own name, or as yet another nameless, faceless dragoman.

The letters, which follow, present late nineteenth-century society in microcosm – people of many nationalities, social classes and reasons for travel. Solomon Negima's is not the only story his testimonial book enables us to explore for the first time.

The Letters

The letters are numbered in the order in which they appear in the book. For a chronological list, see the Timeline.

SN 1

[Written over the letter:] Testimoniel Book of Dragman Solomon N. Negima

[Letterhead:] Howard's Hotels, Jerusalem and Jaffa. Alexander Howard, Carriage Proprietor and General Travelling Contractor to all parts of Palestine and Syria.

Jerusalem, Feb. 18th 1895.

This is to certify that we take pleasure in recommending Solomon N. Negima, who has been our dragoman and guide around the "Holy Land" during our time in it.

We have found him a well informed, intelligent man, thoroughly understanding and familiar with the history of the country, both Biblical and traditional.

We trust any who may employ him will find him equally satisfactory.

Anna E. Fargo

Bessie Tucker

Mame Fargo

Bessie Robinson

New York City

U.S.A.

Miss B. Robinson

20 – Summit Street

Newark
New Jersey
U.S.A.

Notes

See Chapter 4 and Fig. 13.

SN 2

This is the Sertificat Book of Dragoman Solomon Negima
[Photograph caption:] A Naite on the Foot of Mount Harmon
[Photograph caption:] Ande of the Trepp in Bairut

Notes

See Fig. 1; Fig. 29.

These annotations are in Solomon Negima's own handwriting, inside the front cover of the book.



Figure 29 'Ande of the Trepp in Bairut': photograph of Solomon Negima (right) and unknown clients.

SN 3

Letterhead: (Karam) Hotel

Proprietors

A. Atiek & A. M. Karam

Beyrout (Syria)

May 18th 1895

This is to certify that we the undersigned are thoroughly satisfied with Suleman Njem, who was our dragoman during a 30 days trip in Syria.

He is scrupulously honest + obliging. He has an accurate knowledge of the country and its history – but does not plague one with unnecessary information.

He has a most fortunate knack of managing the Police and Turkish officials thusly saving those whom he serves much fuss + annoyance.

During the war in the Soudan of 1884 he was the only interpreter who accompanied the British army till the campaign was completed. Here doubtless he gained the experience which he shows in dealing with the natives of this country, and in his manner of so comptrolling a camp that the muleteers – servants etc. work willingly for him.

Jamesina Waller

Ida Noel

Frederic A. D. Noel

W. Waller

Notes

See Fig. 5.

Jamesina Waller, née Styleman le Strange (1842–1912), grew up at Hunstanton Hall in Norfolk. She wrote a family history, the manuscript of which is kept in the Norfolk Record Office (NRO MS 21220, T140C). She married Adolphus Waller (1838–90), vicar of Hunstanton. Her father, Henry Styleman le Strange, painted, and travelled in Egypt as a young man. Her sister Alice (1846–86) married Sir Laurence Oliphant (1829–88), mystic, author, traveller and diplomat, and settled in Haifa in 1882, where they lived in a commune of English friends in the German Templars' Colony (Oliphant 1892). Sir Laurence

had several indirect connections to Solomon Negima: he was tattooed by the same man as J. Ll. Thomas (SN 32) and corresponded with Rev. James Wells (SN 13).

The Wallers visited the Oliphants in 1885; Jamesina's 1895 visit was after her husband, sister and brother-in-law had died. Jamesina and Alice both painted in Palestine. Alice's illustrations appear in her husband's *Haifa: or Life in Modern Palestine* (1887). Their brother, Guy le Strange (1854–1933), was a scholar of Arabic and Persian, who spent time in the Middle East. He was the author of works such as *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890). The W. Waller of the letter is probably Wathen Henry Waller (1867–1944), Jamesina's son, who became a minister.

The 2013 exhibition *19th Century Views of the Holy Land*, at the National Maritime Museum in Haifa, included many works painted by Jamesina Waller on her travels, which are very much in the Orientalist tradition.

Frederic A. D. Noel (1844–1929) was a Civil Servant, who worked for the Exchequer. Ida Lucy Noel (1847–1925) was his sister, with whom he lived in Marylebone at the time of the 1891 census.

SN 4

[At the top of the letter, in pencil:] IR 13

[Next to this, in pen:] Dr

[Letterhead:] J. S. Thompson & Sons.

Investment Bankers, Illinois Farm loans a specialty.

Individual Responsibility \$350,000

Twenty-five Years Successful Business without Loss or Foreclosure of Mortgage.

[The letter is typed.]

Lacon, Ills. June 13th, 94.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:-

Five years ago, we took a trip through Palestine under the guidance of Solomon Negeima of Jerusalem. We found him an excellent Dragoman. He is well posted on the history of the country, and places of interest. He is strictly

honest and reliable, and we can recommend him to any one desiring similar services.

Yours truly,

Yours [repeated in handwriting]

Mr + Mrs J. Thompson

Notes

The meaning of the annotations at the top of the letter is obscure.

John Strawn Thompson (1840–1903) wrote three letters in Solomon Negima's book: SN 4, 1894; SN 30, 1889; and SN 44, 1893. Strawn was President of the First National Bank of Lacon, Illinois, a self-made man with his own firm of investment bankers. For a man who lived only into his early sixties, he led a busy matrimonial life. The first Mrs Thompson was Eliza H. Norris (1843–76), whom he married in 1863. In 1877, he married her sister, Emma J. Norris (1851–84), who also died young. Three years after Emma's death, in 1887, Thompson married Clara Verney or Vernay (1859–97). Clara, the third Mrs Thompson, was his travelling companion in 1889. The *Biographical Record of Bureau, Marshall and Putnam Counties, Illinois* (1896: 16–21) states that 'Mr. Thompson has always used his wealth for the enjoyment of his family, town and church. He for thirty years has visited most of the interesting places of his native land and Mexico. Mr. and Mrs. Thompson made a European tour in 1889, visiting Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Greece, Turkey, Russia, Norway and Sweden, together with the principal countries and cities of Europe.'

Little wonder that the local newspaper, the *Daily Review* of Decatur, Illinois, began to get its Mrs Thompsons muddled. On 7 September 1898, under the headline 'Married Five Times' it reported on Thompson's marriage to Mrs Carrie Jewett (1863–) at the Methodist Episcopal Church. Carrie was in fact only his fourth wife. The groom is described as 'one of the most prominent and wealthy residents of Marshall county, and a thoroughly good and benevolent man. He has lived in Lacon all his life and has achieved the most pronounced success in everything he has undertaken, rising to prominence through his own efforts. He is a banker, real estate dealer and interested in many commercial enterprises, while he has made a fortune in gold mining in the past year.' The

new Mrs Thompson 'is a very estimable and accomplished lady.' But money, in the old cliché, did not bring happiness.

In 1893, Thompson had taken Wife No. 3, Clara, to the World's Fair in Chicago, where they had hoped to see Solomon Negima (Chapter 3; SN 44; see Fig. 7). He and Carrie went to the Paris Exposition in 1900, where friends noticed her acting strangely. Two weeks after their return to the United States, Carrie shot herself in the chest. She aimed for her heart, but the bullet lodged in her left lung. The *St Louis Republic* reported that 'she is yet alive, but has not a possible chance of recovery. Temporary insanity is assigned as the cause' (*St Louis Republic* 26 September 1900: 3). When questioned, she said that she did not know why she had done it. In the end it was John Strawn Thompson who eventually predeceased one of his wives, dying in 1903. Carrie outlived her husband by at least twenty years. She was living with family in Los Angeles at the time of the 1920 census. In 1922, she was issued a passport for an extensive tour of Mexico and Central America.

See SN 30 for a fuller account of the Thompsons' party in 1889.

SN 5

Howard's Hotel,
Jerusalem, Jany. 5/96.

Having employed Solomon N. Nejeim as guide for the 3 past days in the vicinity of Jerusalem, we have pleasure in stating that we found him punctual, polite & obliging, which qualities added to the necessary one of thorough acquaintance with the district, make him a very useful dragoman, & we can safely recommend him to anybody who is wanting an English-speaking guide.

T. S. Penny, Taunton

Wm. G. Milsom [*sic*], Reading [both bracketed 'England']

Wm. Holland

109, Pershore Road

Edgbaston

Birmingham

Notes

William G. Milson (c. 1851–1923) is listed in the 1881, 1891 and 1901 English censuses as a coal and building goods merchant in Reading. He had followed his father into the business. Thomas Stubbs Penny (1854–1944) was also a builder's merchant, in a family firm. He was at various times President of the Western Baptist Association, the Western Temperance League, the Baptist Union and the National Sunday School Union, sat on the committee of the Baptist Historical Society and served as a Justice of the Peace. He was a delegate to the Baptist Missionary Society to the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. He wrote *My Dear Son: The Memoir of Thomas Penny of Taunton and Wellington 1827–1906* (privately published in 1999), a biography of his father. William Holland (c. 1852–1907) appears in the 1901 census as a hat and coat hook manufacturer, trading under the business name Henry McEvoy and Co.

Penny, Milson and Holland are precisely the kind of clients to whom group tours, such as those of Thomas Cook and Son, were most heavily advertised: provincial businessmen, not wealthy but of some means, pillars of the local community, and often Nonconformist in their religious confession.

SN 6

Shepherd's Hotel, Cairo 15.7.85

Solomon Negimah has served with the 9th Transport Com up the Nile during the last ten months. He was engaged as Headman but has really acted as Interpreter all through – he speaks English well and can read and write Arabic. I have found him an intelligent well informed man and strictly honest – rather a rare quality among interpreters.

H. P. Leach Capt RE.

Notes

See Chapter 2; Fig. 2.

SN 7

[Letterhead:] Flagship San Francisco

March 13th 1895

Solomon Nagina, the guide furnished me by Mr Cook, has been a success from beginning to end – as a historian, as a pleasant mannered fellow, and a probable lecturer in the future. I have not met his equal. There are few events in the history of Palestine with which he is not familiar and if there are any data wanting he can furnish them instantly from his private data fund.

WA Kirkland

Rear Admiral US Navy

Notes

See Chapter 4; Fig. 16.

SN 8

[Letterhead:] New Hotel Beyrouth (Syrie)

April 2nd 1895

Solomon N. Negima as a Dragoman & in every respect has given us great satisfaction bring thoroughly up in his calling & most attentive & obliging.

W R Birch & party of Toronto

We fully endorse the above.

Mr & Mrs Lucas

London

Notes

In the absence of any other information, I have found it impossible to identify W. (William?) R. Birch or the Lucases.

SN 9

Jerusalem

29th March 1903.

It is with great pleasure that I strongly recommend Solomon Ngeim to any one requiring an intelligent & painstaking guide in Palestine. He has been with me & my friends during our stay here & we have all been thoroughly satisfied with him & his attention to us all.

Thos. L. Devitt

Notes

This is the latest dated testimonial letter.

Sir Thomas Lane Devitt (1839–1923), created 1st Baronet Devitt of Chelsea in 1916, was a ship-broker and -builder and founder of the Nautical College, Pangbourne. His obituary, published in *The Engineer* on 14 December 1923, remembered him as ‘a great believer in the sailing ship’, who scorned modern technology and insisted that training on a square-rigged vessel was the best possible preparation for the command of a steamer. He seems to have held every major nautically-themed appointment in late Victorian and Edwardian England. He was Senior Partner in the firm of Devitt and Moore, which had been established by his father; President of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom (1890–); Chairman, then President of the Shipping Federation; Chairman of Lloyd’s Register of Shipping (1909–20); President of the Equitable Life Assurance Society; President of the Institute of Shipbrokers; President of the Institute of Marine Engineers; Master of the Shipwrights’ Company (1917–18); President of the Sailors’ Home; and Chairman of the Seaman’s Orphanage at Snaresbrook. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute in 1895 (*The Colonies and India*: 3 August 1895). He somehow found time to be interested in travel and art.

SN 10

[Letterhead:] Telegraphic Address "Playfere, London"

Telephone No 291.

17 & 18 Basinghall Street

London E. C.

Michaelis, Hallenstein & Co. Ltd.

Damascus 9 March 1894

I have much plaisir in testifying that we found Dragoman Solomon who was supplied to us by Mr Rolla Floyd during our camping tour through Palestine & Syria (from Jerusalem to Damascus) a very trustworthy guide who was ever on the watch for our comfort & safety. He seems a respectable & intelligent man who knows the country well & points out all the places of interest without boring you with too much talk.

Bendix Hallenstein

for self & party

Mr & Mrs Hallenstein & daughter of Dunedin New Zealand

Miss Michaelis Manchester

Mr Edward Hallenstein London

[The letter is repeated in German.]

Damascus 9 März

Wir founden [*sic* for finden] Dragoman Solomon, der uns durch Mr Rolla Floyd gegeben wurde einer vertrauenswürdiger Führer, der nach unserer Reise durch Palestine und Syrien (in Zelten von Jerusalem nach Damascus) immer auf unser Sicherheit & Bequemlichkeit bedacht war. Er scheint ein respectabler [*sic* for respektabler] und intelligenter Mann zu sein, der das Land gut kann & er zeigt & beschreibt alle Plätze die Interesse haben, ohne die Reisenden durch zu viel Gespräch zu langweilen.

Bendix Hallenstein mit Frau & Tochter aus Dunedin Neu Zealand

Miss Michaelis – Manchester

Mr Edward Hallenstein London

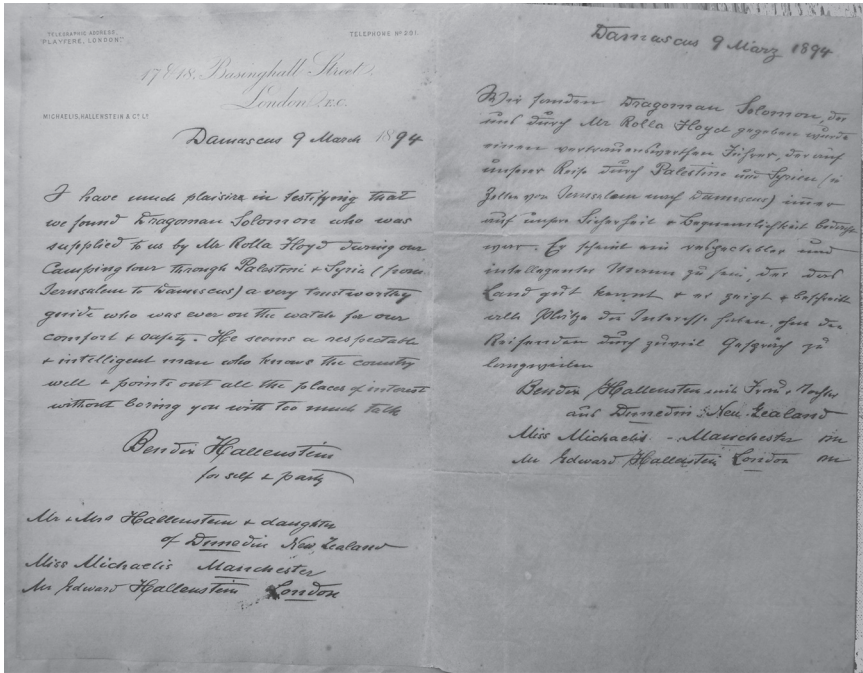


Figure 30 SN 10: Letter from Bendix Hallenstein and party.

Notes

See Fig. 30.

Although written by the same person, the English and German portions of the letter are in slightly different handwriting, reflecting contemporary practice in the two countries.

Bendix Hallenstein (1835–1905) was born in Brunswick, Germany, to Jewish parents, Helena Michaelis and Reuben Hallenstein. He was one of three brothers, the others being Isaac and Michaelis Hallenstein. He emigrated first to Manchester (to work with his mother's brother, Michael Michaelis), then to Australia, and finally New Zealand. He married Mary Mountain in England in 1861 and they had three daughters. Hallenstein was a merchant and manufacturer. His political career included periods as Mayor of Queenstown, Member of the House of Representatives, and German Consul in Dunedin.

The Hallenstein-Michaelis clan had extensive business interests in England, Australia and New Zealand; their history is recounted in *The Michaelis*,

Hallenstein Story 1864–1964: One Hundred Years in Leather (1965). Bendix's brother, Isaac Hallenstein, and their uncle, Moritz Michaelis, founded Michaelis, Hallenstein & Co., which owned tanneries in Australia and New Zealand, and had an office in London. Papers relating to the company are held in the University of Melbourne Archives. The Edward Hallenstein of Solomon Negima's letter is Isaac's son. It is more difficult to identify Miss Michaelis; she is probably a connexion of Michael Michaelis (1811–). He had two daughters: Emma Jane (1850–1929) and Sarah (1853–).

In July 1894, after his return to New Zealand, Bendix Hallenstein published a lively account of his travels in the *Melbourne Jewish Herald*. This was reprinted by two New Zealand papers, who were sure that it 'will be read with interest by his numerous friends.' It contains Hallenstein's reflections on British involvement in Egypt, Jewish education and charity in Palestine and women's rights – as well as a walk-on part for Solomon Negima. This account has never, to the best of my knowledge, been reprinted, and deserves a new airing:

You have no doubt occasionally heard from my brother about our movements since we left Melbourne, but I thought you might like a few lines about our recent travels in Palestine and Syria, and about Jewish matters in countries which, to us Jews, must always have special interest. And if you think they will interest readers of the Jewish Herald you are at liberty to insert this letter.

In company with my wife and daughter and our cousin Miss Michaelis, from Manchester, we left England for Egypt in January last. Taking the steamer at Marseilles for Alexandria, we passed the beautiful coast of Sicily just at the time when the island which looked so beautiful in the morning sun was in a state of revolt. We enjoyed the most lovely weather in the Straits of Messina almost thought the dreaded name of Scylla and Charybdis a misnomer, for the sea was as calm as the proverbial mill-pond, and the settlements and towns on both shores could plainly be seen, only Etna was hidden in the clouds. We arrived at Cairo just at the time when there was great excitement caused by the injudicious conduct of the young Khedive, who chafed under the British rule, but for which he would probably not now be on the throne. Lord Cromer's and Lord Rosebery's firm attitude at the time created a most favourable impression, and wisely brought young Abbas Pasha to his senses. Egypt, too, under British rule, is making wonderful strides. Small irrigation schemes are seen everywhere, and when the larger ones which are now proposed on the Upper Nile are carried out I believe it

will be a veritable land flowing with milk and honey. We were met at Cairo by my nephew, Mr Edward Hallenstein, from London, so that we now made a party of five, and together we went up the Nile, visiting Thebes, Luxours [*sic*] Assuan, the island of Philae, the First Cataract, and most places of interest along the Nile.

I need hardly say that we visited the Pyramids, and those ancient temples and monuments compared with which the antiquities of Rome and Greece are almost modern.

After a fortnight's trip up the Nile we travelled via Ismaeli [*sic*] to Port Said, traversing the Land of Goschen, and I came to the conclusion that Joseph had assigned to his brethren not a bad slice of the country. We did not care to reach Palestine by the circuitous route taken by our forefathers, and sailed in a comfortable steamer from Port Said in the evening, making Jaffa at 6 o'clock next morning. We had a dreadful landing, but were fortunate in being able to do so at all, for it will be known to you that last year my nephew, Reuben Hallenstein, and his wife were not able to land. While we were in the boat the agent, with very great consideration, tried to raise our spirits by telling us of the many accidents resulting in loss of life that had happened; however, thank God, we landed safely. On the way the remains of an old harbour, supposed to have been safe, and where King Solomon's ships had brought the cedars of Lebanon and other building materials for the temple, were pointed out to us, and for the moment we were almost sorry we had not lived in King Solomon's time.

Jaffa is not an interesting town, but the orchards and vineyards in the neighbourhood speak of great fertility. After remaining for half a day, we took the train for Jerusalem, having the mountains of Judah and Benjamin in sight the whole way. It being spring-time the wild rose of Sharon, which is to be found throughout all Palestine, had just commenced to bloom, and looked very pretty. We had a splendid guide, well up in scriptural history, and who pointed out to us all the places of interest. More than half the population of Jerusalem are Jews. We put up at the Hotel Jerusalem, kept by a Jewish family in orthodox style, and it is considered one of the best hotels. We found it extremely clean, and it is outside the city, for which we were duly thankful, for Jerusalem, like most Eastern cities, is very dirty inside its walls. The city lies about 2500ft above the Mediterranean, and seen from the Mount of Olives presents a handsome appearance, but one is sadly disappointed on entering the gates, and it takes a vivid imagination to discover the Jerusalem of old amongst the rubbish and dirt. Yet the ruins of the many sacred places attract the adherents of various creeds, of whom thousands find their way

to the Holy City. The “wailing place” of the Jews attracts all visitors. It is the portion of the original temple enclosures, which, by permission of the Turkish authorities, is accessible to them. Unfortunately, you can only get to it by walking over heaps of dirt through a miserable quarter of Muslims. We visited the “wailing place” on Friday, when orthodox Jews, in original costume, bewail the fate of Israel, and pray “that God may have mercy on Zion, so that beauty and majesty may once more surround it.”

Where once the famous temple of King Solomon stood there stands now the Mosque of Omar, I believe only surpassed in beauty by the great Mosque in Constantinople. It took us fully half a day to inspect it and the historical places inside the temple enclosures.

We took three days to visit Jericho, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan, which had to be done on horseback or palanquins, accompanied by an escort, as it is not considered safe to travel without one, as one meets squads of wild-looking Bedouins, armed with muskets and spears. One day we drove to Hebron and Bethlehem, to which places there is a carriage road from Jerusalem. On the way Rachel's tomb was pointed out to us.

I devoted fully two days visiting various Jewish institutions, of which, as also of Jewish statistics, I enclose a memorandum given me by Dr L. Grünhut, director of the Jewish Orphanage. The latter is a very creditable institution, being well managed under Dr Grünhut's control, assisted by his amiable family. The boys are modest and well-behaved, and we may reasonably hope that they will make good men, who will do honour to Judaism and to the human race generally.

The principal Jewish institution in Jerusalem, however, I consider the Alliance Israélite, chiefly supported by Baron Rothschild, of Paris, where about 100 boys, after first receiving primary education, are then taught a handicraft, there being iron and copper foundries and workshops for sculpture, woodwork and modelling, &c., in the large grounds belonging to the institution. The apprentices, who number more than 100, after a short time earn sufficient to pay for their board, and afterwards they are able to earn money besides. Some of the articles turned out by them are really works of art. Altogether this establishment seems splendidly managed under the direction of Mons. Behar, who is assisted by very able foremen.

Sir Moses Montefiore, the Rothschilds, and many others have certainly done much to ameliorate the condition of our poor and persecuted brethren by their wise expenditure of money for orphanages, schools, and workshops, and by obtaining more liberal laws and concessions from the Turkish Government, and also by establishing various agricultural schools. I venture

here to remark that in my opinion the men who from time to time have visited Australia and New Zealand to collect money for the poor Jews in Jerusalem should not be encouraged. Though it may be done with the best intention, I am sure it encourages idleness and pauperism. It would be better if such donations were sent to the Alliance Israélite (whose head office is at Paris), with instructions to have it spent in Palestine.

Before leaving Jerusalem, I have much pleasure in mentioning Mons. Ephraïm Cohn, Director d'Ecole Lâmel, and Dr A. Feuchtwanger, physician of Lemaan Zion, where poor people receive free advice, also free medicine at the Pharmacie Rosh Pina. Both gentlemen were very attentive, and gave me a good deal of information respecting Jewish matters.

After a little more than a week's stay we went overland through Palestine and Syria to Damascus. We camped at most places of interest, staying for the night at Singil, Nablous, Jennings, Nazareth, Tiberias, Lake Galilee (which we crossed by boat on a fine day), Jacob Daughters' Bridge (a beautiful spot near the head of the Jordan), Binas and Kefz Hawar, which was the last camping place before reaching Damascus. Every night we had mounted guards to keep robbers from our tents. Though early in the season, we were fortunate in having only 24 hours of rain, and on the day we arrived at Nazareth the rain came down in such torrents that it flooded the floor of our tents, and the dragoman thought it best for us to remove to a sort of accommodation house inside the town. Beggars must not be choosers, so I will not say anything against this house. We removed, however, our own Arabian cook with us, and he was a splendid cook. By-the-bye, I was for bringing him out with us had not my wife objected. Whether for better or worse, the ladies nowadays – at any rate in New Zealand – carry the vote. Strange, there was a split in our camp as to the woman's right question, and my wife was against it.

On the way through Palestine I visited several of the Jewish agricultural colonies established by Baron Rothschild, of Paris, where upwards of 500 families are settled. Fortunately I had met his agent, Mons. Scheid, at Jerusalem, who gave me a good deal of information and introductions to the managers. Unfortunately I have mislaid my notes; but these colonies seem to be worked on a very good system. A great many Russian Jews have been settled on them, and I sincerely hope their lot will be a much happier one in Palestine and Syria than in Holy Russia. Comfortable cottages are built for each family, and each colony has schools, a doctor, a chemist's shop, &c. One of the colonies in Syria, on the way to Damascus, partly goes in for the cultivation of roses, and has a distillery for making otto of roses, which is said to be superior to the world-renowned scent made in Hungary. Good

wine is also grown, and we found, and some of us who are not total abstainers even drank, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other Palestine wines at the hotels in Jerusalem, Damascus, and Bayrout.

We stayed several days at Damascus – a very interesting and one of the oldest cities in the world, and, having plenty of water, much cleaner than most Oriental cities; yet, with this exception, more Oriental, as from its situation in the interior it is less visited by Europeans. The Jews are descendants of those that settled here in very ancient times, and not mixed with recent immigrants like those of Palestine. Here also the Alliance Israélite has established schools.

The city is surrounded by miles of gardens, traversed by beautiful clear streams, and the Arabs, accustomed to the arid desert, think it a Paradise on earth. While we were there large caravans arrived from Persia and Mecca, and amongst the Eastern productions with which the camels were laden were beautiful old rugs and silks, which soon found their way into the bazaars for our inspection. And here again I was overruled by the woman's vote, for some of these things are now on their way to that far distant isle in the south; and if my friends visit us in our mountain home, they shall be welcome to squat on rugs that came from Persia and Araby, made many centuries ago by the hands of some fair Muslim woman – perhaps in the harem of Mahomet himself.

From Damascus we travelled by diligence to Baalbec, where we visited the old temples and monuments dating from the Greek and Roman period. From Baalbec to Bayrout, by diligence again, takes a day; the road is very mountainous, and passes through the Lebanon district. We met with any amount of snow along the road, and Mount Hermon, snow-clad, is seen for a long distance. Bayrout is beautifully situated on the Mediterranean, and a railroad is now being made to connect it with Damascus.

At Bayrout we took a fine Egyptian steamer, and after a few days found ourselves in ancient Greece. After visiting the interesting sights of Athens and neighbourhood, we went by rail, crossing the Isthmus of Corinth, to Patras, where we took an Austrian steamer for Brindisi, staying on the way for nearly a day at the beautiful island of Corfu. While there, the Empress of Austria arrived in her steam yacht for a short stay at her castle, situated on one of the wooded hills near the town of Corfu.

The first earthquakes in Greece – of which the cablegrams will have informed you long ere this – happened shortly after we had left the island, and I need not say how thankful we were that we had just escaped. Unhappy Greece – it is a dreadful calamity – and the daily telegrams inform us how

nobly the King and his wife, and their sons, go about everywhere trying to alleviate the widespread misery. And even now shocks occur almost daily, keeping the inhabitants in constant terror.

From Brindisi we went over-the snow-clad Brenner to Munich, staying en route for a few days in the Tyrol, so beautiful in springtime at Bolzen and Insbruck [*sic*]. At Munich, where we inspected the famous art galleries, our party, after a few days' stay, broke up, and my wife accompanied me to Goeggingen, near Augsburg. I have been here about a month, staying at Mr Hessing's famous institution for the treatment of breaks and all sorts of bone diseases. He is very clever, and has made me an apparatus for my lame foot, from which already I receive some benefit.

I find the few lines which I intended to write have grown into pages; yet I tried my best to repress most of the matter which rose to my recollection, and also I did not want to come into competition with Murray and Baldeker [*sic*].

We intend to leave Europe in September, but have not yet decided whether to return via San Francisco or Melbourne. To see our many friends in Australia we would prefer coming your way. I need not say we are now anxious to be again amongst our children and grandchildren, and again behold the old familiar faces in our adopted country, which throughout all our travels shone on our way like a bright star, and truly, though we have visited many beautiful spots, we have not been in any country which, for natural beauty and grandeur, surpasses New Zealand.

Hallenstein 1894; *Otago Daily Times*, 16 July 1894: 4;
Otago Witness, 19 July 1894: 35

Hallenstein's 'splendid guide' at Jerusalem 'well up in scriptural history . . . who pointed out to us all the places of interest' is likely to be Solomon Negima. The testimonial letter states that Solomon escorted the party from Jerusalem to Damascus, but there is no reason to doubt that he was their guide in the city as well. I suspect that Rolla Floyd supplied him to the party specially because he was a German speaker; Hallenstein's bilingual letter is clearly meant to recommend his services to German- as well as English-speaking clients. En route, Hallenstein records that their guide (i.e. Solomon) pointed out the tomb of Rachel, the favourite wife of Jacob, and that, when a rain storm hit 'the dragoman thought it best for us to remove to a sort of accommodation house inside the town'. So we find Solomon, once again, master of practical arrangements as well as scriptural commentary.

The Hallenstein party, with their Jewish faith and interest in local Jewish affairs, must have been a real contrast to Solomon's party of the following March, some of whom were actively – if apparently unsuccessfully – involved in Christian evangelization among Jewish communities (Chapter 3; SN 13).

SN 11

[Letterhead:] Kamnitz' Hotels

Jaffa, Hotel Palestine

Jerusalem, Hotel Jerusalem

Hebron, Hotel Hebron

Jerusalem March 29th 1892

This note certifies that I have been for a week in a party having Souleiman Negima as dragoman, & that he has proved to be obliging & ready as well as full of good humor. He can give all the customary information on the points of pilgrimage.

Lemuel C. Barnes

Notes

SN 11, SN 12, SN 15 and SN 20 relate to the same party.

Rev. Lemuel Call Barnes (1854–1938) was born in Ohio and lived, at various points in his life, in Michigan, Pennsylvania, Montana and New York. For many years, he was a leading figure in the American Baptist Home Mission Society. In the 1910s, he undertook tours of inspection of Christian missions in Cuba, Panama, Jamaica, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and the West Indies (US Passports issued 17 January 1916 and 26 December 1919). He also gave talks to audiences all over the United States, with sometimes provocative titles such as 'What's the Matter with Mexico?' (*The Cincinnati Enquirer*, 18 October 1913). His wife, Mary Clark Barnes, was also an active public speaker. Among the causes she was involved with was the YWCA, and she took a particular interest in the welfare of immigrant women and children in the United States. Together, the couple wrote *The New America*:

A Study in Immigration (1913). This may have been informed in part by his (or their) visit to Palestine, with its discussion of Jewish, Syrian, Armenian and Turkish immigration to the United States, and remarks on the 'Asian' origin of Christianity.

Rev. Barnes' solo-authored works include *Two Thousand Years of Missions* (1900), *Missions to the Heathen* (1910) – the 'heathens' in question are the Navajo – and *Shall Islam Rule Africa* (1890). The latter is a more balanced account of Christian–Muslim relations than one might think, but not by much.

His only published recollections of his trip to Palestine in the spring of 1892 appears in *Appalachia, the Journal of the Appalachian Mountain Club* (1893–5: 180). At the meeting on 3 May 1893:

Rev. Lemuel C. Barnes presented a paper entitled 'Mt. Hermon in April'. A brief description was given of the mountains of Palestine, from Abraham's Hill in the south to Mt. Hermon, with Jebel es Sheik, 'Mountain of the Chief', in the north. Great difficulty was encountered in persuading the native guides to undertake the ascent, but the snow was found in good condition and the feat accomplished. An excellent description was given of the grand and exceedingly interesting view from the summit, 9100 feet above the sea. The ascent was made from Hasbeya on the west side, and the descent to camp on the north side. It was a long, hard, but memorable trip, made on Good Friday, April 15, 1892.

Solomon Negima is not mentioned by name. We might suspect that he was one of the 'native guides' who was reluctant to venture up Mount Hermon in the snow, but Barnes' testimonial records only that he guided his party from around 22 to 29 March. Gaze's party of the following year (SN 16) also experienced snowy conditions at Mount Hermon.

In 1917, Rev. Barnes preached at Calvary Baptist Church in New York City during a hiatus between pastors. The minister the following week was Rev. Robert Stuart MacArthur, who wrote an introduction to the biography of another of Solomon Negima's clients, Rev. Charles T. Walker (*The Sun*, New York, 28 April 1917; SN 43; Chapter 5).

The date of the letter indicates that Barnes was part of the same group as August von der Ohe (SN 12) and Messers Munk, Keller and Whitford (SN 20), who wrote two days previously. This was Gaze's 'spring party' of 1892, which ended at Beirut on 18 April 1892, after 30 days travelling through Palestine,

Syria and Lebanon under Solomon's guidance (SN 15). Barnes, von der Ohe, Munk, Keller and Whitford therefore seem only to have accompanied the group for a short portion of its journey.

SN 12

Jerusalem, den 27ten März 1892

Hiermit bescheinige ich den Dragomanen Salomon Negima aus Jerusalem, daß er uns, meiner Frau und mir, während unserer Reise von Jaffa nach Jerusalem und von hier zum "Jordan-Thale" und "Todten Meere" ein gewandter und zuverlässiger Führer war, der eine grosse Kenntniss von Land und Leuten besitzt. Insbesondere ist Salomon, der in der deutschen Sprache vollkommen mächtig ist, allen deutschen Touristen zu empfehlen.

Er geht jetzt von hier mit einer größeren amerikanischen Gesellschaft, mit der wir bisher zusammen reisten, nach Damascus.

von der Ohe, Zuckerfabrikant
aus Egelu bei Magdeburg.

[I hereby attest that the dragoman Salomon Negima of Jerusalem was a deft and trustworthy guide to us, my wife and me, during our journey from Jaffa to Jerusalem and from here to the Jordan valley and Dead Sea, who possesses ample knowledge of the land and people. Salomon, who is fluent in German, is particularly recommended to all German tourists. He goes now from here with a large American group, with whom we previously travelled to Damascus. Von der Ohe, sugar manufacturer, from Egelu near Magdeburg.]

Notes

See Fig. 31.

Heinrich August von der Ohe (1847–1910) was Director of the Zuckerfabrik Marienstuhl in Egelu. He is mentioned in the 1892 issue (No. 29) of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Rübenzucker-Industrie*. H. Detmann's 1903 note 'Concerning potash and the effect of nematodes on sugar beet' remarks that 'Director von

Jerusalem, den 27. März 1892

Sehr geehrte Herrschaft! Ich bin sehr erfreut, dass Sie
 Salomon Segim aus Jerusalem, dass er
 uns, seinen Sohn und uns, in seinem Namen
 Briefe von Taffa nach Jerusalem und nach
 sein zum Norden-Gala und, Hohen Maara
 ein geneigter und geneigter Briefe von,
 der eine große Freude, von Land und Luft
 besitzt.

Es ist sehr wichtig, dass Sie, da er der Briefe
 Taffa sehr wichtig ist, aber Briefe
 Taffa zu schreiben.

Es ist sehr wichtig, dass Sie, da er der Briefe
 Taffa sehr wichtig ist, aber Briefe
 Taffa zu schreiben.

von der Ohe, Zerstörer
 von Egel bei Egelburg.

Figure 31 SN 12: Letter from Heinrich August von der Ohe.

der Ohe (Marienstuhl near Egel) emphasizes that potash is one of the greatest enemies in factory work' (Detmann 1903). Palestine must have given some much-needed excitement to his life.

The 'large American party' included Rev. Lemuel C. Barnes, who wrote a letter for Solomon two days later, on 29 March (SN 11) and the signatories of SN 20, who departed on the same day as von der Ohe. It may confidently be identified with Gaze's 'spring party' of 1892, which ended at Beirut on 18 April, after 30 days (SN 15).

SN 13

[Letterhead:] Grand New Hotel, Jerusalem
 A. & J. Morcos, Proprietors.

Jerusalem, March 9 1895

During our short stay in Jerusalem we, whose names are written below, had as our Dragoman Solomon N. Negima [surname twice crossed out and added above the line in pencil]. We were thoroughly satisfied with the way in which he performed his duties. He was attentive and courteous to all. He has a quiet and unassuming manner, and he has a good command of English. It may be worth mentioning that he served with the British in Egypt & has the medals of the Egyptian campaign.

I should like to recommend him heartily to anyone who wishes for a trustworthy, intelligent and reliable Dragoman in Palestine.

J. Howard Swinstead, Salisbury

E. T. Tyson J. P.

Mr & Mrs J. Bishell

B. G. Willis

George Walkinson [*sic*]

Alfred Mercer Corah

J. G. Wells, Aldershot England

A. Goodwin Manchester

Grace Weston, Boston U.S.A.

E. C. Fisher

James Outram, Norwich

Mr & Mrs Geo. Willson [*sic*]

E. H. Lewis Crosby, Dublin

A. E. Edge, Staffordshire

Mrs Mary E. Fisher, Boston U.S.A.

Francis Edw. Wilkinson

M. Luther Wlon [= Wilkinson?]

J. T. Woolrych Perowne

March 9/95

Notes

See Chapter 3; see Fig. 11.

SN 14

[Letterhead:] E. Hardegg, Jaffa (Palestina)

Der Dragoman Salomon Nikeme, hat sich seinige auf unser Tour nach dem Jordan als auch nach Jaffa in jeder Beziehung geschickt und zuverlässig gezeigt.

Jaffa, den 25. April 1889

Chr. von Heyden-Rynsch
von Getz

Bothschaftssekretaer [*sic* for Botschaftssekretär] J. de Commynes de Marsilly

[The dragoman Salomon Nikeme has shown himself to be skilful and trustworthy in every respect, on our tour to the Jordan and also to Jaffa.]

Notes

The third signatory, Julien de Commynes de Marsilly (born Amiens, on an unknown date), was a French diplomat. He signs Solomon Negima's letter as Botschaftssekretär 'Embassy Secretary'. He served first as Attaché, then as Secretary, of the French Embassy in Vienna around the turn of the 1870s–1880s, moving to St Petersburg in 1881. By 1887, he was Secretary at the Embassy in Berlin, which is perhaps where he met Heyden-Rynsch. He died young, at Copenhagen in 1896, and left a quarter of his fortune (175,000 francs) to the Société d'économie sociale, with the condition that it be used to educate orphans in preparation for colonial settlement overseas (Savoye 2010). He was a member of the Société de géographie. In 1893, he was made a Chevalier of the Légion d'honneur. The *Journal officiel de la République française* (1 January 1893: 2) recorded that he specialised in translation (certainly German, but perhaps not Russian, given the widespread use of French by the Russian nobility) and the foreign press:

... secrétaire d'ambassade de 2e classe. Sous-chef du bureau des traducteurs et de la presse étrangère; 13 ans de services, dont 9 à l'étranger: Vienne, Saint-Petersbourg et Berlin. Services exceptionnels rendus dans ses fonctions à l'étranger. Travaux spéciaux sur la presse étrangère.

The two preceding signatures are more difficult to decipher, and I am grateful to Dorothea McEwan for her help with these. The first signatory, whose name is probably abbreviated from 'Christian', is a member of the Heyden-Rynsch family, the head of which held the noble rank of Freiherr. Several prominent members in the nineteenth century served as army officers, state officials and Protestant ministers. The second signatory 'von Getz' is impossible to identify in the absence of other evidence.

SN 15

[Letterhead:] New Hotel Beyrouth (Syrie)

Easter Monday.

April 18. 1892.

Upon the termination of a journey extending over 30 days from Jaffa to Jerusalem, Jericho, Nazareth, Damascus, Ballbec, Beyrout it affords us all much pleasure in testifying to the ability of our Dragoman Suleman Negima whose knowledge of the locations and Biblical associations of the particular spots was extensive and exact.

Good temper is a distinguishing mark of his character, tact he has displayed on all occasions.

We therefore heartily and confidently recommend him to any person or persons contemplating an extensive tour.

Geo. K. Scrimshaw

for the Party.

Gaze's Palestine April 1892.

Notes

See Fig. 32.

This is probably the 'large American party' which Herr von der Ohe of SN 12 (27 March 1892) mentions Solomon Negima as guiding onward to Damascus, with which Rev. Lemuel C. Barnes (SN 11) and the signatories of SN 20 therefore also travelled. I have been unable to match George Scrimshaw

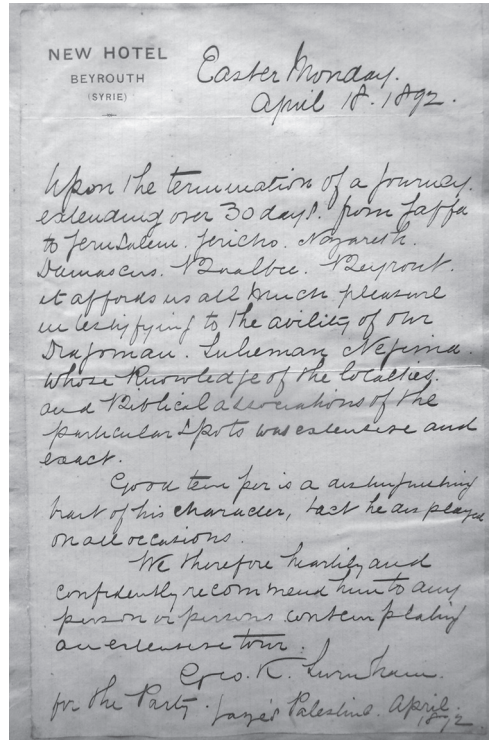


Figure 32 SN 15: Letter from George Scrimshaw and Gaze's spring 1892 party.

conclusively with any of the bearers of this name in the census records of the appropriate period.

SN 16

[Letterhead:] New Hotel Beyrouth (Syrie)

4th April 1893

I have pleasure in writing, on behalf of Gaze's party making a camping trip through Palestine, to express our complete satisfaction with Solomon N. Negim, our dragoman engaged by Mr Rolla Floyd. Solomon has an excellent knowledge of the various places of interest en route and takes great pains to point them out to travellers: his explanations are not of the usual showman's type but are marked by thought and reason. Notwithstanding the very worst

weather in crossing the Hermon district when we encountered deep snow and sever hail-storms, he led the party with great care and judgement and his first consideration was for the comfort of all. He has the advantage very unusual in this country of a calm temperament and I have the greatest pleasure in recommending him as a thoroughly competent and satisfactory dragoman, with whom it is a pleasure to travel.

D. Ford Goddard

J.P. of Ipswich, England

As a member of the above mentioned party I heartily concur in this testimonial to our dragoman.

Revd. Thos. Simm – London

I do not think that the above excellent testimonial to Solomon N. Negim is one whit too strong, and to any who may desire a thoroughly reliable & trustworthy dragoman I most cordially recommend him.

S. C. Adam M.A.

St Jude's Vicarage

Wolverhampton

Notes

See Fig. 33.

Solomon Negima had also guided Gaze's spring party of the previous year (SN 11, 12 and 15).

Sir Daniel Ford Goddard (1850–1922) – who has the neatest handwriting of any of Solomon's clients – wrote a second letter to Solomon in January 1894 (SN 46). He trained as a civil engineer, following his father in the profession, and worked for the Ipswich Gas Company. He was Mayor of Ipswich 1891–2 and sat as Liberal MP for Ipswich from 1895 to 1918. He was knighted in 1907, and made a Privy Councillor in 1916. In 1901, he met another of Solomon's clients, the photographer Sir Benjamin Stone (SN 61). Stone photographed Goddard as part of his portrait series of Members of Parliament. The resulting images are in the National Portrait Gallery, signed by Goddard in the same distinctive neat, slightly back-slanting hand he uses in Solomon's letters (NPG × 16038 and NPG × 16039).

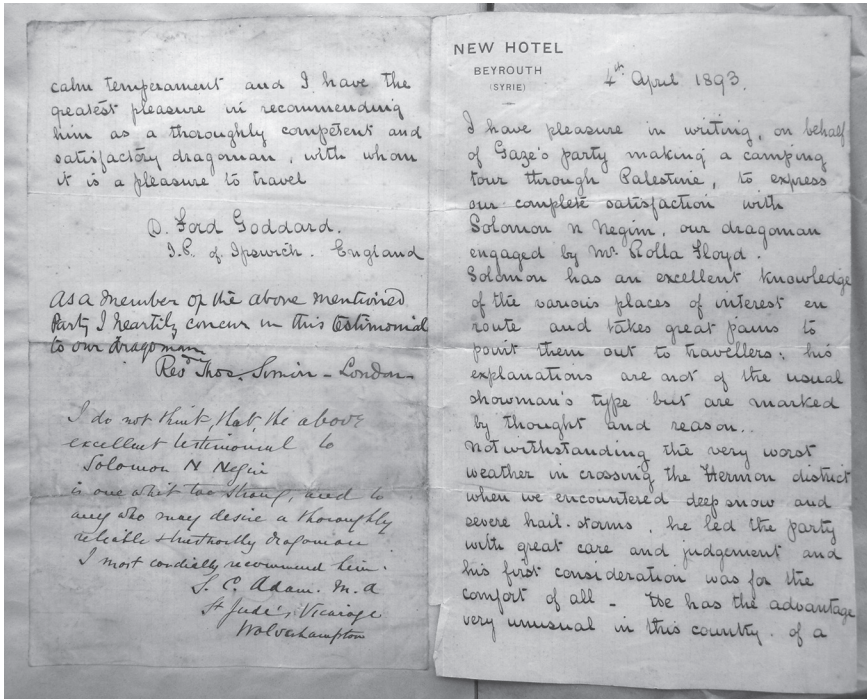


Figure 33 SN 16: Letter from D. Ford Goddard, Rev. Thomas Simm and Rev. S. C. Adam.

Goddard's membership of the Congregational church supplies the link to the second signatory of the letter, Rev. Thomas Simm (born Renfrewshire c. 1839), who according to census records was Congregationalist minister in Llanelli (1871, at the English Independent Chapel), Bere Regis in Dorset (1881) and Lutterworth, Leicestershire (1901). Goddard presided at the annual meeting of the Congregational Church Aid and Home Missionary Society in 1892 (*The Times*, 12 May 1892). He was a member of a delegation of Congregationalist ministers who toured the United States and Canada in 1899, and a signatory to the group's statement condemning the verdict against Alfred Dreyfus, in which they compared the trial to that of Christ: 'we must confess that in the race for infamy, the court at Rennes comes a close second to the Court of Calaphas [sic]' (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 11 Sept 1899).

Rev. Stephen Condon Adam (1833–93), who travelled with these two Nonconformists (at least one of whom was a Liberal), was a minister in the Church of England and a Conservative. He was vicar of St Jude's, Wolverhampton,

from 1869 to 1893. On 21 April, just over two weeks after parting from Solomon at Beirut, he died in Athens of unknown causes. The magazine of his alma mater, St John's College Cambridge, carried a death notice:

We regret also to announce that the Rev S. C. Adam, Vicar of St Jude's, Wolverhampton, died at Athens on April 21, on his return from a visit to the Holy Land, undertaken partly in consequence of his belief in 'British Israelism'. Mr Adam was at one time Vice-Chairman of the Wolverhampton School Board: he was a Freemason and a Conservative in politics, and took a deep interest in the Grammar School and other local institutions.

St John's College Eagle Magazine, Vol. 17, 1893

SN 17

[Letterhead:] Hotel Feil, Jerusalem

March 15th 1891

Solomon Nigim acted as my Dragoman for three days March 12th–15th & I found him attentive & obliging, with a good knowledge of the locality.

John C Blis(s)ard M.A.

Birmingham

Notes

Major-General John Byron (SN 25) was a member of the same group, and wrote a letter on the same day.

John Charles Blissard (1835–1904) became Vicar of St Augustine's, Edgbaston in 1868, serving there until 1903. In December 1892, he became rural dean of Birmingham. In 1879, he filed a US patent for a device which, cutting through the verbiage, seems to have had the modest ambition of keeping a box open or closed:

My invention has reference to such metallic and non-metallic boxes for holding matches, metallic pens, and other small articles as are provided with lids hinged to one side of the box; and my said invention consists of the combination of parts hereinafter described, and illustrated in the accompanying drawings, whereby the opening and closing of the box by

the motion of its hinged lid is readily and quickly effected, the lid retaining the raised or lowered position to which it may have been brought.

Patent US211884 A 1879

SN 18

[Letterhead:] Kamnitz' Hotels

Jaffa, Hotel Palestine

Jerusalem, Hotel Jerusalem

Hebron, Hotel Hebron

[Above this the same, in Hebrew.]

To whom it may concern:

It is seldom that we give a recommendation as heartily as we give this one of Soliman Negima, Dragoman.

He understands his business thoroughly. He is versed in all the history and traditions of Syria and Palestine and the most careful students of the Bible will value his opinions most highly.

He can be perfectly trusted to make bargains for his party and will give them every advantage of reduced price. We have formed a very high opinion of his character and shall recommend him to our friends as the most deservable Dragoman we have met.

Charles L. Goodell, Boston USA

I sign this with great pleasure M. G. Kyle, Philadelphia U.S.A.

" " " " R. W. Reed, Jewett Ohio U.S.A.

" J. C. Cox Weston s. Mare, Eng.

Most cordially, Miss S. A. Emerson, Wellesley Mass. U.S.A.

Gaze's Palestine Party

Jerusalem Nov 16, 1892.

Notes

See Fig. 34.

significant.” It is said that dozens of Jewish agricultural colonies are being established, and that, taking all things together, “students of prophecy will not fail to recognise herein one of the most important ‘signs of the times.’” I am sure that none of us would want to base even a desirable conclusion on an unwarranted premise. Whether or not we believe in the literal return of the Jews to Palestine, we are all interested in knowing what the present facts are.

I have had an honest desire and exceptional opportunities to find out those facts. I went from one end of Palestine to the other, inquiring of consuls, missionaries, physicians, teachers, dragomens, Turks and Jews, and using my own eyes to the best of my ability, to determine if anything in the present condition of things could be taken as evidence of any general and surprising return of the Jews. I found only two parties who made such a claim, and these were both Americans who came to Palestine a generation ago with the same conviction and who hold it as one of the strongest articles of their faith.

It is true that a great effort is being made to get poor Jews to go back to Palestine. On arriving at Jerusalem they register at one of the synagogues, and collections are taken for them throughout the world. But notwithstanding this, and the generosity of Sir Moses Montefiore and the Rothschilds in building tenement-houses, hospitals, and reclaiming land, the concurrent testimony of the men best qualified to judge is that nothing has as yet transpired which is at all significant from a prophetic standpoint.

Reprinted in *The Present Truth*, published by the International Tract Society, Vol. 12, No. 26, Thursday 25 June 1896

Goodell noted that “There are four times as many Jews in New York city as in all Palestine” and concluded: ‘If the home-coming of the Jews is a necessary preliminary to the coming of our Lord, we will do all we can to hasten that event; but no good will come of our claiming a consummation which has not taken place.’

Rev. Melvin Grove Kyle (1858–1933) became lecturer in Biblical Archaeology at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary in 1908. He was lecturer at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1921, 1926, 1928, 1930 and 1932, and worked with William F. Albright in the excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim. He was the author of *The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism* (Kyle 1912), and other works of that ilk.

Robert Watson Reed (1848–1929) founded the State Bank of Jewett in 1898, and was at some point also Mayor of the town. His passport application of 11 May 1892 describes him as forty-four years old, five feet ten in height, with

a high forehead, dark grey eyes, Roman nose, firm mouth, single chin, brown hair, light complexion, and clear face.

A John C. Cox (1856–) appears in the 1861 Census at Weston Super Mare; the 1881 Census also has a J. C. Cox (c. 1850–), a merchant's clerk. It is tempting to identify him with Rev. John Charles Cox (1844–1919), author of several works on English parish churches and their history, such as *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* (1877) – but there is no record of him having lived at Weston Super Mare.

Sara Anna Emerson, PhD, (1855–1939) was Associate Professor of Latin at Wellesley College (founded in 1870 for the education of women), then, from 1891, Professor in the Department of Hebrew and Old Testament History. Her MA was from Boston University. At Wellesley, she served as chair of the Devotional Committee of the Christian Association (*The Wellesley Legenda*, 1895). She gave stereopticon-illustrated lectures to Wellesley students about her travels in the Holy Land (*Wellesley Magazine*, June 1893). She signed up with Gaze's before leaving the United States. Her US passport was issued on 8 September 1892, and is stamped to be delivered to 'W. H. Eaves – New England Agt. Gaze's Universal Tours, 201 Washington St. Boston.' Miss Emerson is described as five feet six inches in height, with medium forehead, dark brown eyes, medium nose, medium mouth, round chin, black hair, dark complexion and oval face (see Fig. 35). In 1903 she earned a PhD from Yale.

SN 19

[Written on the back of SN 18.]

Solomon the guide has shown us round Jerusalem and the outskirts and has explained everything very well indeed.

The officers of H.M.S. Howe 1896

F. C. Fisher Mid.

H. W. Maclean Asst, Paymr.

J. Hodgson Mid.

Notes

See Fig. 36. Hugh William Maclean (1874–1913) was a vicar's son from Wiltshire. I have no information on the others.

Sold by M. H. WARREN,
Publisher of the "Standard" Law Books,
330 Washington Street, Boston.

[FORM FOR NATIVE CITIZEN.]

No. 44197.

Issued

Sept. 8/92

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

STATE OF Mass
COUNTY OF Suffolk } ss.

I, Sara A. Emerson, a NATIVE AND LOYAL CITIZEN
OF THE UNITED STATES, do hereby apply to the Department of State at Washington for a
passport for myself ~~and wife, and my minor children~~, as follows:
born at Somerville, on the 5th day of April, 1855, and

In support of the above application, I do solemnly swear that I was born at Somerville
Somerville in the State of Mass, on or about
the 5 day of Apr, 1855; that my father is a citizen of
the United States; that I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent residence being
at Melrose, in the State of Mass,
where I follow the occupation of Teacher; that I am about to go abroad
temporarily; and that I intend to return to the United States
with the purpose of residing and performing the duties of citizenship
therein.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the
United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and alle-
giance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or
purpose of evasion: So HELP ME GOD.

Sworn to before me this 7th day Sara A. Emerson.
of Sept, 1892.
W. H. Eaves
Notary Public.

DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT.

Age: <u>37</u> years.	Mouth: <u>medium</u>
Stature: <u>5</u> feet, <u>6</u> inches, Eng.	Chin: <u>round</u>
Forehead: <u>medium</u>	Hair: <u>black</u>
Eyes: <u>dark Brown</u>	Complexion: <u>dark</u>
Nose: <u>medium</u>	Face: <u>oval</u>

IDENTIFICATION.

I hereby certify that I know the above-named Sara A. Emerson
personally, and know him to be a native-born citizen of the United States, and that the facts
stated in his affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

[ADDRESS OF WITNESS.]

Applicant desires passport sent to following address:

W. H. EAVES, - New England Agt.
Care of Universal Tour,
201 WASHINGTON ST. BOSTON

Figure 35 Sara A. Emerson's passport application.

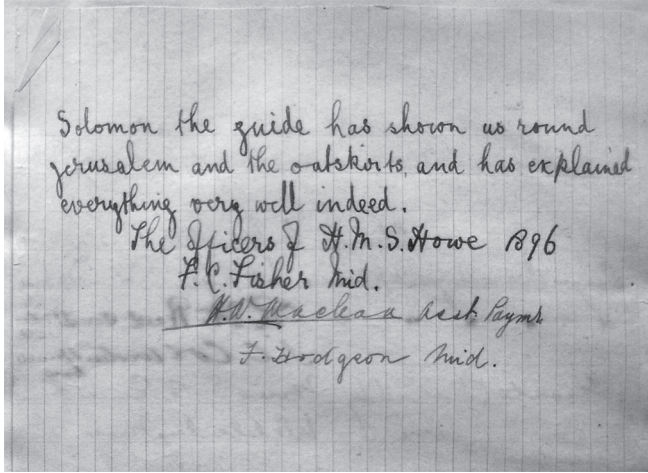


Figure 36 SN 19: Letter from the officers of HMS *Howe*.

HMS *Howe*, launched 1885, was an Admiral-class battleship of the Royal Navy. She was stationed in the Mediterranean from c. 1890 until late 1896.

The book seems to have been proffered for a testimonial at the instigation of Solomon Negima; the sailors, with no paper to hand, simply wrote on the back of another letter.

SN 20

[Letterhead:] Kamnitz' Hotels

Jaffa, Hotel Palestine

Jerusalem, Hotel Jerusalem

Hebron, Hotel Hebron

Jerusalem March 27/92

To whom it may concern.

I am pleased to state that Mr Solomon Nagima has been the dragoman for the party with which I saw this cities [*sic*] sights and surrounding and that I can recommend him as a first class man in every particular,

H. Munk

Indiana U.S.A.

P A Keller
New York

Geo. H. Whitford
Boston U.S.A.

Notes

The letter bears the same date as that of Heinrich August von der Ohe (SN 12) and is therefore also connected to the same Gaze's party as SN 11 and SN 15.

There are too many H. (Henry?) Munks and George Whitfords in the records to make a positive identification.

Philip A. Keller (1831–1905) worked for the Brooklyn grocery firm of Francis H. Leggett and Co. He was originally from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and his planned departure for the Holy Land was reported in the local papers there (*Harrisburg Daily Independent*, 29 January 1892; *Harrisburg Telegraph*, 5 February 1892). In 1859, Keller became Deacon of the newly-founded St Matthew's Evangelical Church in Brooklyn, but in later life belonged to the Central Congregational Church (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 9 June 1859; 15 April 1905). His US passport, issued 27 January 1892, states his intention 'to visit Egypt, and other foreign countries' for 'about three months'. At this time he was sixty years old, and described as five feet eight inches in height, with a medium forehead, grey eyes, scarred nose, mustache, whiskers, grey hair, normal complexion, regular face, and bald head. The space for delivery instructions is stamped 'H. Gaze and Son, Tourist Agents of London, 940 B'way New York'.

SN 21

[Letterhead:] Howard's Hotels, Jerusalem and Jaffa. Alexander Howard, Carriage Proprietor and General Travelling Contractor to all parts of Palestine and Syria.

Jerusalem [blank] 18 [blank]

[Stamp over letterhead]: Thos. Cook & Son Jaffa 28 Dec. 94

With pleasure I recommend Dragoman Solomon N. Negema as being faithful honest and reliable Guide and Dragoman during our short visit in the Holy Land. I found him capable and well posted in the History of all things seen and visited.

John A. Brown
Chicago Ill. U.S.A.

Dec 27th 1894

Notes

A John Brown of Chicago might not seem the most promising lead, but there is one plausible identification: John Albert Brown (1838–98). Brown was Treasurer-Secretary of the Chicago Base Ball Club. In 1884, the Chicago White Stockings (later the Chicago Cubs) were invited to play an exhibition game against the Toledo Base Ball Club – who the previous year had fielded an African-American player against Chicago, to great controversy. Brown wrote to the Toledo manager, Charles Morton: ‘Now the management of the Chicago Base Ball Club have no personal feeling about the matter, but the players do most decisively object, and to preserve harmony in the club it is necessary that . . . the colored man . . . not play’ (quoted in Bond 2008: 316). Brown may not have practised racial discrimination in an active sense, but he certainly did little to stop it. His passport was issued on 20 August 1894, stating that he planned to be abroad for no more than one year, and gives his occupation simply as ‘Capitalist’.

SN 22

Hotel Jerusalem
March 14th 1893

Suleman Ngema has acted as dragoman while I was visiting the Holy City and its surroundings; also the Jordan Jericho and the Dead Sea; also Bethlehem &c &c. I regard him as a painstaking, patient and highly intelligent guide. Personally I feel much obliged to him, and hope to hear of his welfare and success in life.

Duncan Fraser
Minister of Heidelberg Melbourne
Australia

Notes

Rev. Duncan Fraser (1826–1912) was born in Scotland and emigrated to Australia in 1862. He served as Presbyterian minister of Northcote and later Heidelberg, both suburbs of Melbourne. He was granted a leave of absence in early 1893 and returned to Scotland. He travelled back from the Holy Land to Australia via Canada, where his brief visit to Winnipeg was reported under the headline ‘Rev. D. Fraser, of Melbourne, Thinks Australia the Greatest Country on Earth’ (*The Winnipeg Tribune*, 11 July 1893).

SN 23

The members of Gaze’s Fall Palestine Party 1892 take pleasure in making special expression of their satisfaction with the arrangements made for them in the Holy Land by Mr Rolla Floyd Contractor.

The entire outfit – horses, tents, food and furniture were better than we expected and the attention and kindness of the camp servants left nothing to be desired. We consider that Sulieman Negima, our Dragoman, is without a superior and if we ever come to Palestine again we shall stipulate that he is to go with us. We have found him well versed in Bible history and careful in his discrimination between history fact [crossed through, with ‘history’ written above] and tradition.

The personal attention of Mr Floyd during our stay in Jerusalem we highly appreciate.

Charles L. Goodell

R. W. Reed

M. G. Kyle

J. C. Cox

S. A. Emerson

Jerusalem

Nov. 15. 1892

Notes

The pages are pasted in the book out of order. These are the same individuals who signed SN 18, dated the following day, an enthusiastic testimonial of Solomon Negima himself. The handwriting is again Goodell's.

SN 24

Under the care of Mr Rolla Floyd, Solomon Ngeim served us as dragoman during our trip through Palestine. We take great pleasure in testifying to his fitness for the position which he holds. He proved himself at all times efficient and obliging. His knowledge of the land and of Bible places was very good, and we gained from him much general information of interest. His management of the camp was such as to secure us a most comfortable journey. We have confidence in his integrity; and should we ever visit this land again we should certainly want "Solomon" for our dragoman.

Julian K. Smyth

Winogen G. Smyth

26 Montrose St.

Boston Highlands Mass.

U.S.A.

Beirût.

April 21/94

Notes

Rev. Julian Kennedy Smyth (1856–1921) was a Swedenborgian, and pastor of the Boston Highlands Society of the New Jerusalem. He was author of a number of published tracts, hymns and sermons, such as *Footprints of the Saviour* (1891) – which, despite the promising title, is not a travel book. Winogen (or Winogene) Gertrude Smyth (1854–1928), née Horr, was his wife.

The Smyths travelled with Henry Gaze and Sons on at least two occasions. A passport issued 4 March 1892 is stamped for delivery to 'W. H. Eaves, – New England Agt., Gaze's European Tours, Parker House, Boston,' and is witnessed

by Eaves. A later passport was issued on 4 January 1894, and is also witnessed by and marked for delivery to Eaves. (Eaves was also the local agent for Sara Emerson of SN 18; see Fig. 35.)

On their second trip, the Smyths were members of a party who sailed from Boston 'on an excursion to the Mediterranean and the Orient' (*Boston Post*, 6 February 1894). Rev. Smyth gave a series of illustrated talks on Palestine on his return. In early May 1895, he spoke to the Boston Young Men's Christian Union on 'Remembered Paths in Galilee'. 'The lecture was finely illustrated by the stereopticon. The lecture was based upon Mr. Smyth's personal observations and experiences while travelling through the Holy Land a year ago, and was illustrated by a fine collection of lantern views, some of them being made from photographs taken by the lecturer' (*Boston Post*, 6 May 1895). Later the same year, he spoke again to the Young Men's Christian Union on 'Remembered Places in and About Jerusalem,' illustrated by 'eighty beautiful and interesting stereopticon views' (*Boston Post*, 7 October 1895).

SN 25

Jerusalem

15. March 1891

Solomon Nigim acted as my dragoman in Jerusalem. I found him obliging – and very capable in explaining the historical sites.

John Byron

Maj. General

Notes

This letter is written on the same date as that of John C. Blissard (SN 15), who also took a short tour, confined to Jerusalem.

Major-General John Byron (1832–95) was a distant relation of the poet. He lent his collection of Lord Byron memorabilia – including a sword-stick, scent-bottle, neckerchief and some manuscripts – for an exhibition at the New Gallery on Regent Street in London in 1891 (Grueber 1891: 192). Another

distant relation was the travel writer Robert Byron (1905–41), author of *The Road to Oxiana* (1937).

SN 26

Während meines dreitägigen Aufenthaltes war mein Führer Salomon Nejame, und empfehle [ich] derhalben als durchaus kundig, bewandert und freundlich. Was irgend in der(?) kurzen Zeit einzurichten und [...en] werden kann, versteht er [glattisch?] einzutheilen [*sic* for einzuteilen] und auszuführen.

[C. Penfitt?]

Jerusalem 20 Janr. 1889.

[During my three-day stay, my guide was Salomon Negame, and I recommend him for this reason as thoroughly knowledgeable, skilled and friendly. So far as can be established and (...) in the short time, he understands how to divide and carry out (his role) smoothly.]

Notes

See Fig. 37.

The main body of the letter is written in the most difficult of all the hands in the book. I am once again thankful to Dorothea McEwan for her help with the signature.

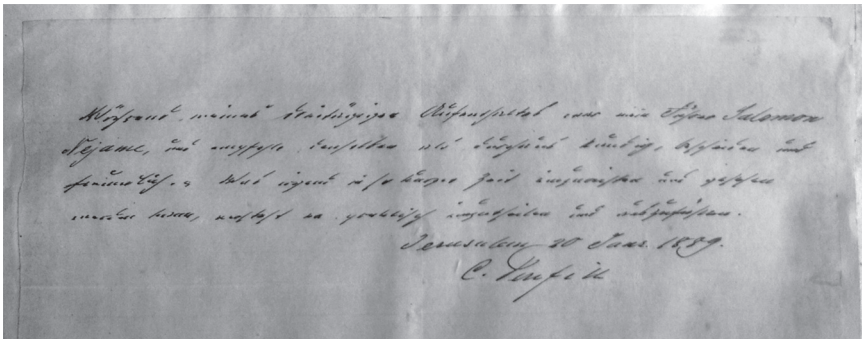


Figure 37 SN 26: The worst handwriting in the book.

SN 27

[Letterhead:] Alexander Howard, Carriage Proprietor and General Travelling Contractor to all parts of Palestine and Syria.

Jerusalem 21 February 1896

To whom it may concern.

Be it known that Mr Solomon N. Negima, Dragoman, of Jerusalem and Syria is from my experience a thoroughly reliable and trustworthy guide and interpreter who is to be trusted.

He has made a careful study of the country and seems to be fully informed.

Respectfully,

Herman Haupt Jr. M.D. Ph.D.

Late Director of Dept. of Mining and Metallurgy

Armour Institute

Chicago Illinois

Notes

Herman Haupt Jr (1852–1925) was the son of Herman Haupt (1817–1905), a Union Army General in the American Civil War and a civil engineer. The Armour Institute of Technology, where he taught, was founded 1890 and is now the Illinois Institute of Technology. He published a guidebook to Yellowstone National Park in 1883, but nothing on his Middle Eastern travels, for which he was issued a passport on 27 June 1895.

In 1897 Haupt was the subject of a short piece in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* under the headline ‘Is Ejected From An Electric Car’. He was thrown off a street car when the conductor alleged that the dollar coin he had paid for his fare was counterfeit: ‘Mr. Haupt says as the only money he had with him besides this \$1 piece was one cent he had to walk from Addison street to Evanston’ (17 June 1897) – a journey of around seven miles.

SN 28

[Letterhead:] Hotel Continental Cairo

Cairo 15 May 1894

My dear Solomon: -

I send you with this a duplicate copy of your testimonial as requested by you. I send it in the care of Mr. Hardegg at Jaffa.

The chair[?] for you I gave to Cook's agent at Port Said with a note for Cook's agent at Jaffa and the Port Said agent promises to send it on to Jaffa free of expense to you. I hope you have already received it and may enjoy it as much as we have done.

I have tried to find for you the Khedivial Star in Cairo, but so far without success. I fear that such decorations cannot be bought as you seemed to think. I am sorry not to be able to get it for you.

We have enjoyed Cairo. This hotel is very good – better than Shepheards. We have been to the pyramids today. Tomorrow we go to Alexandria and sail at 3 P.M. for Athens.

I hope all your affairs are prosperous in every way. Mother sends her good wishes with mine for you. Remember us kindly to your brother Salaman[?].

Hoping some day to see you again.

Yours sincerely,

Alexander Tison

To Mr.

S. N. Njeim

Jaffa.

Notes

See Fig. 38.

Alexander Tison, travelling with his mother, wrote three letters in Solomon's book. The first, at Jaffa on 10 May 1894, is a testimonial (SN 45), written on the back of another letter (SN 44). He sent a neater copy on headed notepaper, from Cairo on 15 May (SN 49) to which this (SN 28) is the covering letter. The

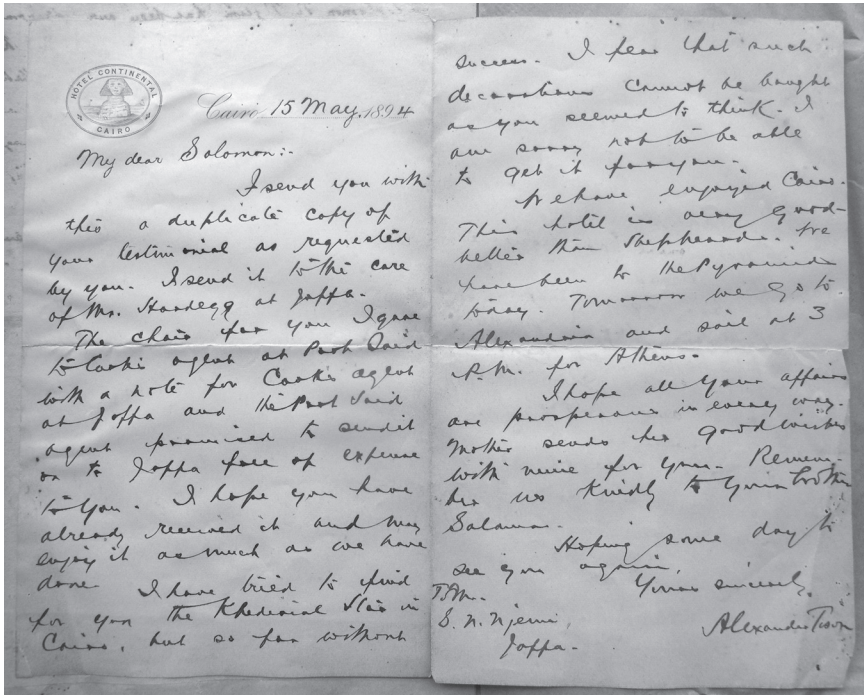


Figure 38 SN 28: Letter from Alexander Tison.

two testimonials are more or less identical, although SN 49 omits the sentence on Solomon's 'knowledge of the people + the arabian language'.

Alexander Tison (1857–1938), was born in Missouri and graduated from Harvard Law School, before being admitted to the New York bar. He was Professor of English and American Law at Tokyo Imperial University from 1889 to 1894. In 1894, he travelled back to the United States via China, India, Egypt, Palestine, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Belgium, France and England. He resumed his practice of law in New York. SN 45 gives Tison's address as 'c/o H. Pulman, 45 William Street', an office building used by several insurance companies and attorneys at this time. These included Harrington Putnam (1851–1937) of the firm of Wing, Putnam and Burlingham, whose name Tison has evidently misremembered. Since Tison was returning from Japan, he did not have a permanent US address to sign to his letter.

Hannah Eliza Tison (1828–1903), was Alexander's mother, widow of Hypolito Tison.

On the Khedive's Star and Solomon's military service, see Chapter 2.

SN 29

To whom it may concern

Joppa, Syria, April 22, 1891

I take great pleasure in stating that Mr. Solomon Negime, our Dragoman through Palestine, is in every way a gentleman, is thoroughly posted in his work and has give us great satisfaction. There could not be much better than he.

Respectfully,

D. K. Tindall

Pastor M. E. Church

Central City, Nebraska

Notes

Tindall travelled from New York with the Barnetts (SN 56) and the Grahams (SN 62), as reported in the *New York Times* for 19 February 1891:

The Westernland of the Red Star Line carried out in her cabins the Rev. and Mrs. Edward Abbott, Dr. Backelandt, the Rev. John M. Barnett, the Rev. Eben B. Cobb, the Rev. Charles Edwards, the Rev. Dr. O. A. Houghton, Prof. Eugene Joralemon, the Rev. Dr. D. K. Tindall, Dr. and Mrs. W. C. Burrows, the Rev. O H. P. Graham, and the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. James S. Riggs. Most of these ladies and gentlemen are starting on an extended tour through the Holy Land.

They were joined en route by A. A. Williams and E. H. Pierce (SN 35) and Lord Dalrymple (SN 37).

Rev. Daniel Knowles Tindall (1853–1916) was Pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Central City, Nebraska. A local history of the Church in Omaha and its suburbs praised his ‘masculine voice and his ability in song-singing’ (Haynes 1895: 118, with his picture). After he returned to the United States, the *Kearney Daily Hub* of Kearney, Nebraska, reported that:

The former popular pastor of the M. E. church, Rev. D. K. Tindall, now of Central City, will lecture at the M. E. church tonight under the auspices of the Ladies’ Aid society upon what he saw and heard in the Holy Land. The hearer will take a trip to Calvary, Gethsemane and Galilee with the eloquent lecturer for a guide, and the trip will be refreshing and replete with interest.

These lectures, which have been delivered by Mr. Tindall at Central City, have been splendidly received and the Hub has no doubt that he will look into the faces of several hundred of his old friends this evening.

Kearney Daily Hub, 26 June 1891.

There are several reports of this sort in Nebraska newspapers over the following two decades, with admission to the lectures sometimes free, sometimes an admission fee for charity. Rev. Tindall got good mileage out of his travels.

His passport was issued on 5 January 1891, to be sent to the offices of Henry Gaze & Son, but the clerk was having difficulty adjusting to the new calendar year and has written 1890 by mistake (see Fig. 39).

SN 30

[Letterhead:] Cedar River Creamery

J. M. Crossman & Co.

Dealers in General Merchandise and General Produce

~~Williamston, Mich.~~ [scored out] May 15 1889

Jerusalem Palestine

We cheerfully recommend to you Solomon Negima, as guide & Dragoman, having had him as such for our tour in Palestine. We found him honest & faithful & always looking for our interest & comfort.

Signed

John M. Crossman, Williamston Mich. U.S.A.

Alex Sturrock Senr. Melbourne Australia

Mrs Alex Sturrock Senr " "

Thomas M. A. Burke, Albany N.Y.

Mr & Mrs J. S. Thompson, Lacon Ill. U.S.A.

Notes

See Fig. 40.

Application for Passport—Native Citizen.—39. (Edition of July, 1888.) John Pothemas, Printer and Mfg Stationer, 108 Nassau St., N. Y.

No. 22529 Issued Jan'y 5/90

United States of America.

STATE OF _____ }
COUNTY OF _____ } ss:

I, D. K. Tindall, a NATIVE AND LOYAL CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, do hereby apply to the Department of State at Washington for a passport for myself and wife, and my minor children as follows: Noras born at Lincolnton, N.C. on the 22 day of March, 1858, and

In support of the above application, I do solemnly swear that I was born at Sumner County, in the State of N.C., on or about the 22^d day of March, 1858; that my father is a N.C. citizen of the United States; that I am domiciled in the United States, my permanent residence being at Central City, in the State of Nebraska, where I follow the occupation of Methodist Minister; that I am about to go abroad temporarily; and that I intend to return to the United States June 1891 with the purpose of residing and performing the duties of citizenship therein.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Further, I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; So HELP ME God.

Sworn to before me, this 23^d day of December, 1890 }
W. J. Thompson }
Notary Public.

DESCRIPTION OF APPLICANT.

Age: <u>37</u> years.	Mouth: <u>Medium</u>
Stature: <u>5</u> feet, <u>10</u> inches, Eng.	Chin: <u>Ordinary</u>
Forehead: <u>High</u>	Hair: <u>Dark</u>
Eyes: <u>Dark</u>	Complexion: <u>Dark</u>
Nose: <u>Straight</u>	Face: <u>Round</u>

IDENTIFICATION.
Central City, Neb. Dec. 23^d, 1890

I hereby certify that I know the above named D. K. Tindall personally, and know him to be a native born citizen of the United States, and that the facts stated in his affidavit are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

W. J. Thompson
[ADDRESS OF WITNESS.] Central City, Nebraska

Applicant desires passport sent to following address:

One dollar tax, as imposed by law, will be required, in U. S. currency, with each application. When husband, wife, minor children and servants expect to travel together, a single passport for the whole party will be required. For any other person in the party a separate passport will be required. Address "Department of State, Passport Division," Washington, D. C.

HENRY GAZE & SON
Tourist Agents
DEC 17 1890
340 Broadway, N. Y.

Figure 39 D. K. Tindall's passport application.

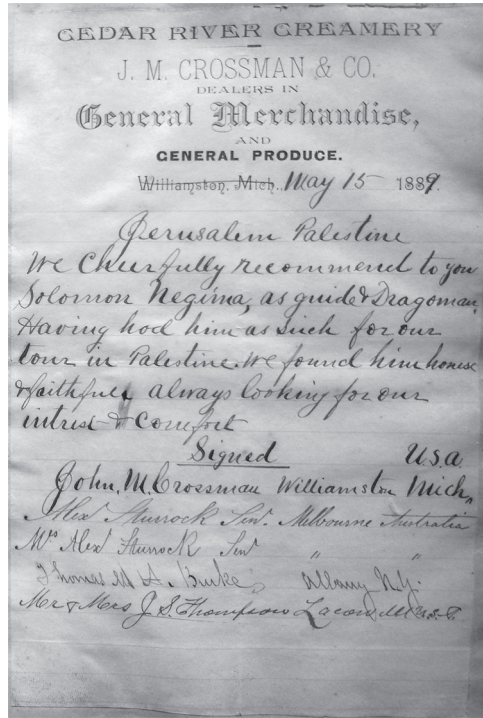


Figure 40 SN 30: Letter from John M. Crossman and party.

Mr and Mrs John Strawn Thompson of this group stayed in touch with Solomon Negima: see SN 4 and SN 44.

John M. Crossman (1850–1941) had a grocery business, and was Postmaster of Williamston, Michigan. The *Portrait and Biographical Album of Ingham and Livingston Counties, Michigan* describes him as ‘a retired merchant and a gentleman of broad and comprehensive experience and observation’ who, as well as a share in a business, owned ‘several village lots and a handsome residence on Putnam Street’ ([...] 1891: 813). Most of this short biography is given over to a description of his travels:

In the year 1889 Mr. Crossman, in pursuit of knowledge, took a trip to Europe. He learned the French language and traveled all over the continent. He visited Greece, Egypt, Babylon and the Holy Land. He returned in the fall of the same year, bringing with him a large number of photographs of prominent cities and buildings. A few weeks after his return he started upon his second trip which lasted more than a year; was at Paris during the

continuance of the World's Fair. He visited Jacob's Well and the Well of Joseph, in Cairo, Egypt. He saw the crater of Mt. Vesuvius, and on the 4th of July, 1889, ascended Mt. Blanc. He visited the sites of the seven churches of Asia, to which St. John sent his messages in the Book of Revelations, and he followed the steps of our Saviour in the Garden of Gethsemane, and upon the sacred mount of crucifixion.

During Mr. Crossman's first tour in Europe, he traveled some fifty thousand miles, and his second tour carried him over about twenty thousand miles. He brought over a large addition to his library, and among them many volumes of French literature. Besides his journeyings abroad, he has traveled in many parts of our own country and in 1885 visited the Exposition at New Orleans.

[...] 1891: 813–14.

Crossman was not the only one of Solomon's clients to have visited one of the great exhibitions of the second half of the nineteenth century. Travel companies promoted their tours heavily at these events (see Chapter 3).

Alexander Sturrock was born in Scotland and had a timber yard in south Melbourne, Australia, which still operates under his name. Mrs Sturrock was born Grace Millar. Their trip around the world is reported in a local newspaper in New Zealand, where they stopped en route back to Australia:

Mr D. Caird, of Pareora, introduced to us on Saturday a relative of his, Mr Alex. Sturrock senr. of Melbourne (a relative also of Mr Sturrock of Timaru). Our visitor is a builder in Melbourne, who is now on the home stretch of a tour around the world, *via* Suez Canal Homeward – he hails frae Arbroath – and *via* the Canadian-Pacific, homeward. Mr and Mrs Sturrock made an enjoyable trip, turning off the main route wherever there was anything to be seen. For instance they had a run through Palestine, and Mr Sturrock in a half hour's chat gave us a good deal of interesting information about The Land of the Book. Being a builder by profession, he made closer observations of the buildings than most travellers do. He states that Jerusalem is being rapidly rebuilt, especially the suburbs, but the country around is a perfect desert, and the town is only kept up by the expenditure of the countless pilgrims and other visitors. He was much impressed with Canada, and found Canadians eager to obtain information about Australia, as if they looked forward to being brought into closer relations with the southern Dominion.

Timaru Herald, 24 February 1890

Rt Rev. Thomas Martin Aloysius Burke (1840–1915), Irish-born, was Roman Catholic Bishop of Albany from 1894 to 1915. He was named a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre in 1890 and Commander of the Grand Cross of Jerusalem in 1894. A biographical sketch appears in the volume *Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memoirs* (Reynolds 1911, Vol. 1), and gives a detailed description of his visit to Egypt and Palestine, as well as of his fellow travellers:

Besides making a tour through Italy and France, the Bishop visited Switzerland, Germany, England, Ireland and Scotland. Again in the year 1889, he went to Rome, and had the pleasure of meeting for the first time, one of the most remarkable Pontiffs that have adorned the history of the Church, Leo XIII. He had the pleasure of assisting at the Pope's Mass, and afterward enjoyed a very pleasing conversation with his Holiness. Leaving Rome, he proceeded to Egypt. In Alexandria he saw the ruins caused by the bombardment by the English and the French a few years previously. He found Cairo a most interesting city, for there for the first time he came in contact with Eastern civilization. Leaving Cairo he crossed the Libyan desert to Ismalia, and visited the residence which de Lesseps built for himself after he had completed the Suez Canal. From Ismalia he sailed through the Suez Canal to Port Said, and from there he sailed on a Russian steamer to Jaffa, whence he went by carriage to Jerusalem. The railroad at present running from Jaffa to Jerusalem had not yet been constructed. The road passes through the plains of Sharon, rendered famous by the feats of Samson, and also through the plain of Ajalon, where the sun stood still at the prayer of Josue. After passing over the brook from which David took the limpid stone with which he slew Goliath, and by the ruins of the castle of the brave and patriotic Maccabees, the travelers arrived in sight of the Holy City. All alighted, and all with uncovered heads saluted that city which Christ had so often sanctified by His presence and consecrated by His death upon the cross

It is proper that a few words should be said here of the Bishop's fellow-travelers. When he left Albany he was just recovering from a long and severe attack of illness. He took no companion with him when he sailed from New York on the good ship "Etruria." When a few days out he became acquainted with a Mr. Sprague, a mill owner from Rhode Island, who in turn introduced him to a gentleman, a Mr. John S. Thompson, from Illinois, who, with his wife, Mrs. Clara Thompson, was about to visit Palestine. The Bishop and

Mr. and Mrs. Thompson agreed to travel together. At Brindisi they met a Mr. Crossman from Jamestown, Michigan, whom they took into their party. At Ismalia they met a Mr. and Mrs. Sturrock who had just arrived from Melbourne, and whom they invited to join them in their tour through the Holy Land. During the short sojourn of the party in Palestine they met with several adventures. Leaving Jerusalem on a Monday morning, our travelers set out for the Dead Sea and the River Jordan. At that time there was no road between Jerusalem and Jericho. At the present time there is a fine road, which the Sultan constructed on the occasion of the visit of the German emperor. Between the village of Bethany and Jericho there is a cave in the side of a hill, called the robbers' cave. According to tradition this is the exact spot in which the traveler mentioned in the parable of the Good Samaritan, fell among thieves, who beat him and left him half dead. As the bishop and his companions passed by the cave it was full of robbers. The party was under the protection of Tribal Sheik, and it was moreover during the hours of Ramadan, during which the Bedouins will not slay or rob. After a dip in the Dead Sea and a copious draft of the sanctified water of the Jordan, our travelers arrived late at night at the Hotel Jordan. During the night a great wailing and weeping arose in the neighborhood of the hotel. It appears that a party of ten Arabs with fifty donkeys carrying sacks of wheat passed by the robbers' cave after the hours of Ramadan; the robbers rushed out upon them, killed three, wounded others, and drove the donkeys with the corn across the Jordan. Two of the murdered Arabs were recognized by their friends who carried them to Jericho. The third was a stranger. When, early the next morning, the Bishop passed the robbers' cave, he beheld a number of Bedouins in front of it surrounding the body of the dead stranger. Had the unfortunate man been grievously wounded and not killed outright, the parable of the Good Samaritan would, to a certain extent, have been literally re-enacted. This scripture parable is indelibly impressed upon the mind of the bishop and his fellow travelers.

Reynolds 1911, Vol. 1: 232–8

Burke's handwriting in his signature to Solomon's letter is recognizably the same as that under his photograph in these *Memoirs*.

The Crossman-Sturrock-Burke-Thompson party fall somewhere between the 'organized' and 'independent' tourists discussed in chapters 3 and 4, and show how the busy social life of the steamer lounges and hotel terraces of the Mediterranean allowed travelling parties to be put together en route.

SN 31

Jerusalem March 3rd 1889

Gentlemen,

Mr Solomon Negima has been our Dragoman since our arrival in Jerusalem also accompanying us to Jericho and the Dead Sea. Has given us satisfaction in every particular and we heartily recommend him to travellers.

J H Montgomery – Monmouth Illinois

J. A. Riley – Urbana Ill.

Notes

Rev. John H. Montgomery (1836–1920), was retired pastor of the United Presbyterian Congregation at Elmira. He also served the First African Church of Monmouth, and was a Director on the Senate of Monmouth College.

I have not been able to find any information on J. A. Riley.

SN 32

I have great pleasure in stating that headman Solomon Negima acted as my dragoman during a tour from Jerusalem to Haifa in November 1889, and that he gave me entire satisfaction. I found him honest and straightforward, and anxious to please. He speaks English remarkably well, and has an intelligent knowledge of places of interest in Palestine. I heartily recommend him to travellers in the Holy Land.

J. Ll. Thomas M.A.

Curate

Notes

See SN 34; the two letters were sent together.

Rev. Joseph Llewellyn Thomas (1853–1940) was the author of *Oxford to Palestine* (Thomas 1890), in which Solomon Negima features as a major character – as do several other dragomans. Thomas and his work are discussed

by Mairs and Muratov 2015: 124–5. He wrote two other travel books: *An Undergraduate's Trip to Italy and Attica* (1881), and the now regrettably-titled *Journeys Among the Gentle Japs* (1897). He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and at the time of his travels in Palestine was Curate of Briton Ferry in southern Wales, where the following year he was the victim of a violent assault by persons, and for reasons, unknown ('Murderous Assault on a Clergyman', *The Times*, 24 April 1890). He became vicar of Aberpergwm in 1894.

Oxford to Palestine originated in a series of letters to the *Oxford Times*, and there is much to pique a casual reader's interest. When Thomas arrived in Jerusalem, a Syrian who went by the Italian name Francesco Marco approached him with his testimonial book – as a tattooist. Like Solomon Negima, Marco had collected letters of reference from former clients. Thomas was impressed to find the names of Emperor Frederick and Prince Rudolph of Austria, the Duke of Sutherland, and Laurence Oliphant (brother-in-law of Jamesina Waller of SN 3). Illustrious names, the presence of 'several ladies' among the tattooees, and a conversation with the German Vice-Consul, who was staying in the same hotel, reassured Thomas that 'to submit to the operation that Francesco wished to perform upon me was perfectly respectable' (Thomas 1890: 75). He reclined on a divan and, 'in an hour, though not without inflicting a greater amount of pain than I had bargained for, Francesco had imprinted upon my arm the very elaborate pattern which the Emperor Frederick carried with him to his grave' (Thomas 1890: 76). Rev. Thomas remarked upon the local custom of women tattooing their faces, and recalled that tattooing is forbidden in Leviticus – not that that stopped him from having the tattoo, or describing the process with great interest. The typical design chosen by pilgrims was a 'Jerusalem Cross' and the tattooist worked not by the modern western method of dipping the needle in ink, but by first puncturing the skin and then rubbing Indian ink into the cut. The 'lower classes', Thomas noted, used gunpowder instead.

Rev. Thomas introduces his readers to the figure of the 'dragoman', as interpreter, guide and reliever of 'all the difficulties which are inseparable from travelling in the East.' The plural, he says, is 'dragomans', though English and American tourists constantly treat the word as if it belonged to their language' and say 'dragomen'. Like Solomon Negima, 'many of them are able to produce testimonials from well-known men who have employed them which speak

in the highest terms of their character and of the value of their services ... The written recommendations which a dragoman will produce in offering his services are almost invariably couched in what seems sincere and hearty language' (Thomas 1890: 30–1). He notes that although their English may not always be very good, they usually have an equal or better command of three or four additional languages: an impressive achievement. Thomas's first encounter with a dragoman was not in Cairo or Jerusalem, but in Paris, at the Exposition Universelle of 1889. On the Rue du Caire, a similar set-up to the 'Street in Cairo' visited by the Thompsons at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair (Chapter 3; SN 44), he was 'addressed in remarkably good English by one who had acted as dragoman in Egypt, and who intended returning to his old employment at the close of the Exhibition. He produced several testimonials, many of them having been written for him unsolicited, one being from Sir Wilfred Lawson, for whom he had acted as dragoman in Cairo last winter' (Thomas 1890: 30–1).

Thomas undertook several excursions from Jerusalem, where he stayed at the Hotel Feil, making his arrangements with Rolla Floyd and his Greek partner, Demetrius Domian. He went to Bethlehem with a group of 'light-hearted Americans' who bombarded their dragoman with questions, but 'he was an old, experienced hand ... and was never at a loss for the information asked for' (Thomas 1890: 81; this was not Solomon Negima). 'My dragoman, Suleiman N'jima, AKA Solomon Negima, was, Thomas wrote, 'an excellent guide. My journey through Samaria and Galilee under his guidance will form the subject of my remaining letters' (Thomas 1890: 85). He found him an entertaining raconteur, and preserves much of the surviving information we have on Solomon's family background:

We left Jerusalem shortly after noon. By "we" I mean my dragoman Suleiman, the muleteer Hamed, and myself. I think I have been exceedingly fortunate in my dragoman. When he is not pointing out to me some place mentioned in Scripture, and telling me all he knows about it—which is usually a good deal—he entertains me with the recital of his experiences in the Nile Expedition, which are even more stirring than those of Major Mackie. He served in connection with the transport department in the Soudan, and was present at Abu Klea and Metemmeh. He showed me his medals, not that I doubted his word, as dragomans are a very truthful body of men; and I also know from other sources that Suleiman was really present at those

battles, and that he was an eye-witness of the death of Colonel Burnaby. So I consider myself fortunate in having secured the services of such an interesting dragoman. Suleiman was born at Ramoth-Gilead, his father being a Nazarene, and his mother a Moabitess. Before I have done with Suleiman I shall probably know all his history, as he is very communicative, and delights in airing his English, which is remarkably good.

Thomas 1890: 87

Throughout the trip, 'all arrangements are in the hands of the dragoman, and it is not for me to interfere, though I am nominally the master of my movements' (Thomas 1890: 89). When Solomon told him that a particular stretch of the way was along an old Roman road, Thomas looked it up on the map and found that he was correct. Other locals were less familiar with the kind of history a Welsh Christian visitor read into their landscape. At Nain, where according to the New Testament Jesus resurrected the son of a widow, they shared their food with some women drawing water at the well. 'I asked him if they knew why we came to their village, and what made it so interesting to us; but Suleiman did not think the great majority of them had ever heard of the miracle which Our Lord performed there. He said that most of the inhabitants of the Mohammedan villages were extremely ignorant, and knew little or nothing of Our Lord's history' (Thomas 1890: 100–1).

Like Ellen Miller, who also travelled with Solomon without tents the previous year (see Chapter 4), he found that the level of comfort and degree of welcome extended to him by religious and private houses varied. Solomon was not fond of the Roman Catholic monastery at Mount Tabor, because it 'had introduced the rule that dragomans and muleteers should shift as best they could, and that only the pilgrims themselves should be entertained in the monastery. Indeed, the dragoman would have gladly given Mount Tabor a wide berth' (Thomas 1890: 103). At another stop, Solomon found his charge 'the best accommodation that could be got for a Christian in the village' (Thomas 1890: 99), which was not saying much.

Miss Miller complained about Solomon's snoring; Rev. Thomas had to contend with the musical stylings of Hamed the muleteer:

I put up philosophically with Hamed's execrable singing for two days, till at last the grating upon my ears became so annoying that I inquired of Suleiman what Hamed was singing, whether it was something religious (as I knew

Hamed was a devout Mohammedan), in which case I would continue to tolerate it, much as it interfered with my appreciation of the journey, or something more or less comic, in which case I should have to ask Hamed to exercise a little self-denial for my sake, or to keep at a greater distance from me. Suleiman answered that he was singing about the “beauty of a girl.”

“What girl?”

“An Armenian girl he knew in Jerusalem.”

“What does he say about her?” I further asked.

“Oh,” said Suleiman, “he is comparing her to an antelope, and is describing the beauty of her eyes, and of her teeth, and of her dress.”

“Does he sing nothing else?”

“No, he sings of her all the day long.”

I did not pursue the inquiry further, though I was left in some doubt as to the exact category to which his song belonged, but I gave Hamed the benefit of the doubt, and allowed the melody to continue. But it was very difficult to put up with it.

Thomas 1890: 97

At Haifa, Hamed returned to Jerusalem (and his Armenian girl) with the horses, and Solomon took the steamer with Thomas for Jaffa.

Rev. Thomas's visit to the Holy Land in 1889 was the first of several. He returned in 1898, when he met the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, and struck up a friendship. It is possible, as I noted in Chapter 1, that Solomon Negima was one of the dragomans for the Kaiser's party. After the Kaiser was deposed in 1918, Rev. Thomas paid visits to him at his home in exile, at Doorn in the Netherlands and corresponded with him and members of his family. He thus became a source of snippets of information on the former Kaiser which were circulated by the United Press. In 1932, he apparently told the press that Wilhelm ‘was ready to return to Germany if the Germans desired’ and that he was ‘in good health and archaeology has recently replaced his previous concentration on religious studies. He is now frequently visited by learned scientific professors from various countries’ (*The San Bernardino County Sun*, 12 November 1932). Rev. Thomas said that they had only ever discussed politics on one occasion. When asked what he thought of Hitler ‘Wilhelm merely shrugged his shoulders and made no comment’ (*Bradford Evening Star and Daily Record*, Bradford, Pennsylvania, 23 October 1939). Thomas's

obituaries, in 1940, appeared under headlines such as ‘Was Friend of Ex-Kaiser’ and ‘Friend of Exiled Emperor Dead’, and listed Prince Nicholas of Greece, the Duchess of Kent, Count Tolstoy and Lord Kitchener (the Kaiser’s First World War foe) among his other famous friends.

Rev. Thomas continued his interest in Palestine and its history. In 1899, he published a long article on the archaeological excavations of F. H. Bliss at Tell el Hesya, and others at Jerusalem (*Los Angeles Herald*, 7 May 1899; Bliss’s excavations were toured by J. T. Woolrych Perowne’s parties: see Chapter 3 and SN 13). In 1905, Rev. Thomas met another member of the Palestine Exploration Society, Sir Charles Warren, who had excavated at Temple Mount in Jerusalem, at an unlikely setting: the pit-top at Treharris colliery, about twenty miles from the vicar’s home at Aberpergwm. The meeting was reported in the *South Mail* and reprinted in the paper of another mining town in Pennsylvania: the two men were admirers of each other’s work, but had never before had the chance to meet (*Wilkes-Barre Record*, 17 May 1905).

SN 33

Hotel Feil,
Jerusalem
19th March 1891

We had Solomon Nejini as our dragoman to Hebron and Bethlehem for two days and were entirely satisfied with him. He knows the whole country perfectly and can talk most intelligently of all its old associations. We found him most respectful, attentive and obliging in every way & can confidently recommend him to others.

John Sinclair, Scotland
Ella Sinclair

[After the letter was pasted into the book (as may be seen from the fact that the text extends into the margins), the following was written in a different hand, apparently hesitantly, with a pen which is sometimes overloaded, sometimes underloaded, with ink.]

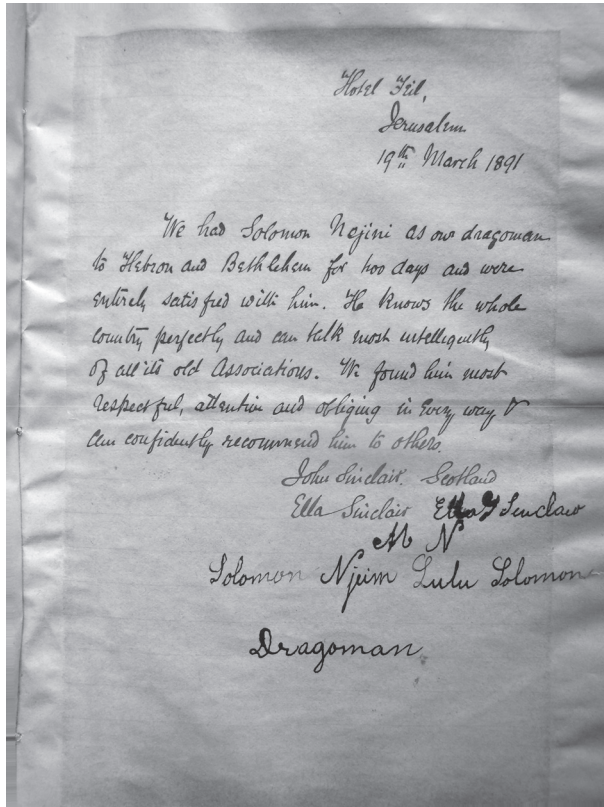


Figure 41 SN 33: Letter from John and Ella Sinclair, with handwriting practice by Solomon and his daughter Lulu.

EllaS Sinclair

M N

Solomon Njeim Lulu Solomon

Dragoman

Notes

See Fig. 41.

The annotations appear to consist of Solomon Negima's own handwriting practice – or that of his daughter Lulu – in imitation of the writing in the letter.

John and Ella Sinclair bear good Scots names, and are next to impossible to identify in the records.

SN 34

Port Said

Dec 2/89

Dear Solomon,

I have great pleasure in sending you the enclosed testimonial. I write in haste, being on the start for England. I hope I shall see you again. I will be sending a paper to the Hotel Feil, and you will probably see it there.

I wish you every success in your calling.

I remain, dear Solomon,

Yours faithfully,

J. Ll. Thomas

Notes

See SN 32; the two letters were sent together. Thomas wrote of his first visit to Port Said, on his way out to Palestine, as follows:

I had heard so much of the dreadful dulness [*sic*] of Port Said that I was prepared to find even a few hours' stay there scarcely tolerable. But I think it a much maligned place, and I do not envy the man who is so constituted that he cannot spend a few days as pleasantly at Port Said as at most places in the East "Life were pleasant but for its pleasures," but Port Said is not wanting in pleasures of the kind that do not mar the pleasantness of life. There is a certain mental pleasure even in contemplating the town, sprung in so short time from a mere Arab fishing village into a city of nearly 30,000 inhabitants, with well-ordered streets and several substantial buildings. And then the ever-shifting scene at the quay is always interesting.

Thomas 1890: 54

Of Hotel Feil, in Jerusalem, he noted that 'It was a German house, kept by one Herr Feil, and though it was not exactly our idea of an hotel, we found

it very comfortable, and the landlord the most obliging of hosts' (Thomas 1890: 63).

SN 35

[Letterhead:] New Hotel Beyrouth (Syrie)

This certifies that we have travelled through the Holy Land with Solomon Negima as our Dragoman & find him to be not only kind & obliging but well qualified to fill the place & to give instructions concerning the different places of interest.

We most cheerfully commend him to all who contemplate such a tour & especially our American friends.

A. A. Williams

Lynn

Mass

E. H. Pierce

Rehoboth Mass.

Beyrout April 29. 1891

Notes

The writers of SN 29, 35, 37, 56 and 62 travelled together, for at least part of their time in Palestine. Ella L. Goodknight was also with the group, although there is no letter from her in Solomon's testimonial book. Her local paper, the *Miami Helmet* of Piqua, Ohio, published her account of the trip (Goodknight 1891). Numbers, as can be seen from Solomon's letters and their dates, fluctuated. Upon leaving for the Dead Sea 'our company now consisted of fourteen tourists, all Americans, save Lord Dalrymple, of Scotland, with Mr. Turnham from London, as our conductor, and Solomon Negema, a Syrian, as dragoman'. In addition to the tourists and guards, there were twelve muleteers, two cooks, three dining room waiters, a local sheikh to escort them, eight pack horses, six donkeys and seventeen mules. At the river Jordan, Mrs Goodknight added to the already considerable amount of baggage with a 'huge bottle' of water, which she brought back to Jerusalem 'and there had it boiled and

filtered and now have it safely stowed away to bring home for baptismal purposes.’

The passport issued to Rev. Amos Andrew Williams (1829–) on 31 December 1890 is witnessed by, and stamped to be delivered to, W. H. Eaves, Ticket Agent, who sold Gaze’s tours of Europe and the Middle East in Boston (cf. SN 18 and SN 24). Mrs Goodknight recorded that Williams took a souvenir from the site where the Good Samaritan was supposed to have performed his good deed, for his appropriately-named fraternity: ‘Rev. Williams, D. D., of Lynn, Mass., procured a stone cut from the side of the mountain to carry home with him. He intends to have it made into a gavel and present it to his lodge, ‘The Good Samaritan’ I. O. O. F.’ (Goodknight 1891).

In 1893–4, an advertisement ran in newspapers across the United States in which Rev. Williams promoted ‘Hood’s Sarsaparilla’:

Rev. Mr. Williams Heartily Endorses Hood’s Sarsaparilla. We are pleased to present this from Rev. A. A. Williams, of the Sillsbee street Christian Church, Lynn, Mass: ‘I see no reason why a clergyman, more than a layman, who knows whereof he speaks should hesitate to approve an Article of Merit and worth.’

The Western Sentinel, Winston-Salem, North Carolina,
29 March 1894; *The Hawaiian Star*, Honolulu,
8 August 1894; and many others; see Fig. 42

Williams was not shy of endorsing goods and services of which he approved – whether it be a soft drink claimed to have cured his wife’s ‘nervous headache’, or the services of a Palestinian dragoman.

Esek Henry Pierce (1830–) was a lawyer, local historian, and editor of the *Revere Journal*. He was also issued his passport in December 1890. Pierce was elected Vice-President of the Rehoboth Antiquarian Society (to which he donated a number of items) on its foundation in 1884. He was also chairman of the committee formed to mark Rehoboth’s 250th anniversary, in October 1894. The official record of the event noted that:

Mr. Pierce is not only a public-spirited citizen and a well-read man, but he has also travelled extensively in this country and abroad. In 1891 he sailed from Boston to Liverpool; thence to Naples, to Alexandria; thence to Cairo, taking a trip up the Nile, returning to Cairo and then to Ismalia, passing through the Suez Canal to Port Said. Thence he sailed to Jaffa, and by carriage went to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem he took a horseback journey of 600 miles



Mrs. A. A. Williams

Lynn, Mass.

For the Good of Others

Rev. Mr. Williams Heartily Endorses Hood's Sarsaparilla.

We are pleased to present this from Rev. A. A. Williams, of the Sillsbee street Christian Church, Lynn, Mass. :

"I see no reason why a clergyman, more than a layman, who knows whereof he speaks should hesitate to approve an

Article of Merit

and worth, from which he or his family have been signally benefited, and whose commendation may serve to extend those benefits to others by increasing their confidence. My wife has for many years been a sufferer from severe

Nervous Headache

for which she found little help. She has tried many things that promised well but performed little. Last fall a friend gave her a bottle of Hood's Sarsaparilla. It seems surprising what simply one bottle could and did do for her. The attacks of headache decreased in number and were less violent in their intensity, while her general health has been improved. Her appetite has also been better. From our experience with

Hood's Sarsaparilla

I have no hesitation in endorsing its merits."

A. A. WILLIAMS.

HOOD'S PILLS are the best family cathartic, gentle and effective. Try a box. Price 25c

Sufferers from Piles should know that the Pyramid Pile Cure will promptly and effectually remove every trace of them. Any druggist will get it for you.

Figure 42 Rev. Williams endorses Hood's Sarsaparilla.

to Beirut, and thence to Constantinople, with a homeward trip across the Continent; reaching New York after an absence of about five months, and enriched by the gains of a most interesting and instructive tour.

Bicknell 1894: 135

SN 36

Jaffa 14 March/89

We found Solomon N. Negami a most agreeable, attentive and intelligent Dragoman. He did his best to make our tour thro' the country pleasant and profitable. We commend him to any travellers who may require his services.

Geo Hanson – Glasgow

John Hanson Glasgow

George Hanson Glasgow

Notes

The most plausible identification I can find is with a George Hanson (1842–), Free Church Minister at Sighthill, Glasgow, who took his MA at the University of Glasgow in 1867, was ordained 1872, and became minister of the Sighthill Free Church (later Sighthill United Free Church), serving in that capacity until 1912. His son, George (1874–), took his medical degree in 1896. George Hanson senior's father was also named George. There was also a surfeit of Johns in the Hanson family: the brother of George Hanson senior, who was Free Church Minister at Whitevale, Glasgow, and received his MA from the University of Glasgow in 1872; and the son of George Hanson senior (and brother of George Hanson junior), who was born in 1878.

SN 37

Letterhead: Grand Hotel Dimitri

Damas (Syrie)

Directeur & Propriétaire

Selim Besraoui

18/4/91

Lord Dalrymple begs to state that he travelled in the spring of 1891 through Palestine and Syria with Suleiman Nejima as his dragoman, and has much pleasure in stating that he found him most intelligent, obliging, and useful in every way, and can most strongly recommend him to all parties wishing to travel through the above mentioned districts.

Notes

See Fig. 43.

John Hew North Gustav Henry Hamilton-Dalrymple, later the 11th Earl of Stair (1848–1914), was known as Viscount Dalrymple from 1864 to 1903. The writers of SN 29, 35, 37, 56 and 62 travelled together, for at least part of their time in Palestine.

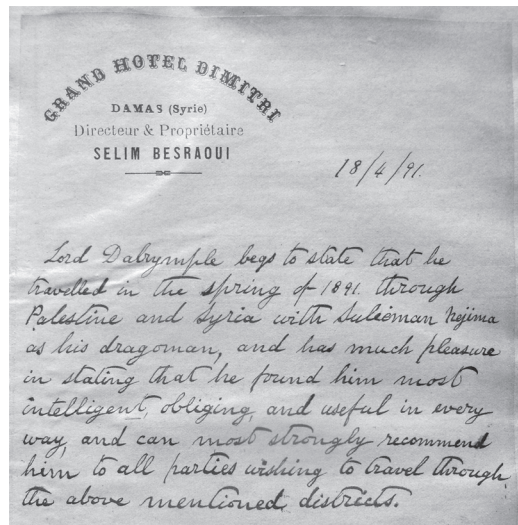


Figure 43 SN 37: Letter from Lord Dalrymple.

SN 38

[A word-for-word copy of SN 31, in the same hand, with the same signatures.]

SN 39

The bearer Solomon Negimae has been employed as Headman in No. 9 Company C & T Corps during the period of the Nile Expedition and now leaves the Company on its return to Cairo, he can read and write Arabic, and can speak English fairly well, and would make a very fair interpreter. He has [work?]ed well and given every satisfaction. –

Edw. J. J. Teale Capt. & DACG
Comdg 9th Co. C T Corps

Cairo 17. 7. 85

Notes

See Chapter 2; Fig. 3.

SN 40

During my stay of two or three days at Jerusalem I have been much pleased with my dragoman Mr Soloman Negime. I feel sure he has shown me as much as possible in the short time & I have found him intelligent.

Ninian Hill

Jerusalem 1st May '89

Notes

Ninian Hill (1861–1946) was a ship-owner from Edinburgh who in later life was ordained as a minister in the Church of Scotland. His travels in Palestine, while still in his twenties, led to a lasting connection with Jerusalem. He was one of the principal campaigners behind the establishment of St Andrew's Church, Jerusalem, which was built as a memorial to the Scottish soldiers who were killed fighting the Turkish Army during World War I. It opened in 1930 with Hill as its first minister ('Scottish Kirk Set on a Hill in Jerusalem', *The Edinburgh Scotsman*, reprinted in the *Ottawa Journal*, 26 March 1948). Hill was the author, inter alia, of *The Story of the Old West Kirk of Greenock 1591–*

1898 (1898), *The Story of the Scottish Church from the Earliest Times* (1919), and *The Child and the State in Scotland: An Outline of the Law Relating to Children* (1909).

SN 41

I, the poor Mustafa Makboul, the adult with full mental capacity and in a healthy physical condition, admit and testify that I have received from the hajj Mohamad Madani a sum of money, which is 18 Majidi Riyals and I pledge to the almighty lord to pay the money in a period of five months starting from the date the money is received by Mustafa. The 18 Majidi Riyals of hajj Mohamad Madani are a debt before God and his messenger and also the two witnesses mentioned under.

Mohammad Ibrahim Abdallah is a witness.

Everything that is written is true:

Mustafa Makboul;

and this is my handwriting

15th of Dhū al-Qaḍah 1286

I testify: Shekh Mohamad Khamis

I testify: the humble-before-God Mohamad Ahmad Alkas

Notes

Document in Arabic, bearing a seal stamp; translation by Sophie Spencer. The subject is a loan of money from one Mohamed Madani to Mustafa Makboul. I do not know what connection these individuals and their transaction have to Solomon Negima. 15 Dhū al-Qaḍah 1286 is 16 February 1870 according to the Gregorian calendar, so SN would have been a child at the time.

SN 42

[Letterhead:] Howard's Hotels, Jerusalem and Jaffa. Alexander Howard, Carriage Proprietor and General Travelling Contractor to all parts of Palestine and Syria.

Jerusalem, Feb 20th 1895

Soloman Negimme has been our Dragoman during our stay in Jerusalem and vicinity and have found him a thorougherly [sic] capable and well informed dragoman.

Th Driscoll

San Francisco, California, U.S.A.

Notes

Thomas Aloysius Driscoll (1873–1936) studied law at Georgetown University, and appears in later census records as a banker. He was issued a joint passport with his mother, Joanna M. Driscoll, on 12 October 1894, and stated his intention to return to the United States within two years. The local papers followed their progress: 13 May 1895 found them at Athens (*The San Francisco Call*). Driscoll was an accomplished polo and tennis player, who won the Pacific Coast Tennis Championships in 1893. During the First World War, he served in France as a Lieutenant-Colonel, and was awarded the Légion d'honneur – as was at least one other of Solomon's clients, Julien de Commynes de Marsilly (SN 14). Driscoll's death, on the tennis courts of the Burlingame Country Club in 1936, was reported under headlines such as 'War Hero, Capitalist, Sportsman Dies on Courts' and 'Heart Attack Fatal To Noted Sportsman' (*The San Bernardino County Sun*; *The Times*, San Mateo, California, both 29 June 1936). He was described as a 'socially prominent' 'elderly socialite' who had recently retired from the directorship of the Home Owner's Loan Corporation and the Hibernia Bank.

Driscoll's papers and those of his wife, Alice, are held in the Thomas Driscoll Collection at the Davidson Library of the University of California, Santa Barbara.

SN 43

[Letterhead]: American National Baptist Convention

C. T. Walker, D. D., Treasurer

Augusta, G.A., April 4- 1892

To Mr Solomon Negima
Hotel Fiel [*sic*] Jerusalem
Palestine

Dear Solomon

I reckon you will be surprised to hear from me – you remember you were our guide while in Palestine – you will remember Rev Carter and Walker – and our trip to Jordan, Dead Sea, and Jericho. You will remember the silk handkerchief I gave you, and the red cap of yours I took in place of yours – I want you to write to me, and let me know if you can send me a few relics such as two or three pen holders from the mother of pearl, a blotter made of olive wood, and some few other things. Write to Rev C. T. Walker Augusta Ga. U.S.A. I hope you are well – Your friend

C. T. Walker

Notes

See Chapter 5; Fig. 17.

SN 44

[Letterhead:] J. S. Thompson & Sons.

Investment Bankers, Illinois Farm Loans a Specialty.

Twenty-five Years Successful Business without Loss or Foreclosure of Mortgage.

Lacon, Ills. Nov. 22nd 93.

Solomon Negima,

Jerusalem.

Dear Sir: –

We have not heard from you for a long time. While in Chicago at the World's Fair, we met some people who had a Turkish Dancing Hall and entertainment, from Beyrouth and Damascus. We asked one of the men if he knew you; he said he did and knew you well. When we told him that you were our dragoman while in Palestine, he seemed very much pleased, and said we could come in free just as much as we wanted to. We looked for you a little at the World's Fair.

In fact, we have always thought that we would one day see you again. We would be pleased to hear from you, and how your wife and baby are.

The Catholic priest who was with us made a visit in Lacon some two or three weeks ago. We enclose you an article from one of the Lacon papers in regard to his reception while here. He spoke of you very kindly, how faithful and true you were to us in our travels. We often hear from Mr. and Mrs. Crossman.

We received the Ink Stand sent us by the Minister from Boston. It is very nice, and we are very much pleased with it. This man wrote us what a good guide you were, and was very much pleased with the service you gave him.

Trusting that you and family are well, we are, as ever,

Yours very truly,

Mr & Mrs J. S. Thompson

Notes

See Fig. 7.

The letter is typewritten, apart from the signature. John Strawn and Clara Thompson were also the writers of SN 30 (1889) and SN 4 (1894) – the latter perhaps written in response to a request from Solomon Negima in his reply to SN 44.

The ‘Catholic priest’ is Thomas M. A. Burke of SN 30. Mr and Mrs Crossman are signatories to the same letter. The ‘Minister from Boston’ may be Charles L. Goodell of SN 18, who travelled with Solomon in November 1892.

SN 45

Solomon N. Nigima has been our dragoman during a visit of eleven days which [*sic* SN 49 has ‘just’] ended to the usual places in + about Jerusalem. He has in this time + service shown that he has an excellent [SN 49 has ‘exceptional’] acquaintance in the places, geography + history of Palestine. His knowledge of the people + the arabian language used by them is equally excellent. It is no small service to the travelling public which places at his

disposal any [SN 49 has 'one'] who carries about with him & imparts in so interesting a manner so much information as we have found Solomon to possess. He has our appreciative recognition of all that he has done to make our visit more worth while & we at the same time trust that other visitors to the holy land may be equally fortunate. I write this for my mother, Mrs H E Tison and myself.

Alexander Tison

New York City

c/o. H Pulman [*sic*] Esq

45 William Street

Jaffa 10 May 1894

Notes

See SN 28 and SN 49.

SN 46

[Letterhead:] Oak Hill,
Ipswich

26 January 1894

Dear Solomon

I remember you quite well and often think of the splendid time we had together last year.

I remember also that I promised a book about coins and antiques, but I have not been able to find such a book – there are many books about coins but not what you want. However I do not despair of finding one yet.

Perhaps I shall see you again soon, for in March my wife and I are coming for a little sea trip in the steamer Garonne. We expect to arrive at Beyrout on the 16th March and we shall probably drive to Damascus and spend two or three days there. I should like better to ride on horseback, but I have not time as we have to leave again on the 22nd. Then we shall land at Jaffa on the

24th March and go up to Jerusalem where we shall stay until the 30th March. I hope I shall see you and have a hubble-bubble together. How I should like to ride again through the country, it was splendid.

Now you must look out for me in March.

Good bye.

Yours truly

D. Ford Goddard

Notes

See Fig. 44.

See SN 16.

The voyage of the Garonne was advertised by the firms of F. Green and Co. and Anderson, Anderson and Co., based at Fenchurch Avenue in London. The Garonne left London on 22 February for a cruise of eight weeks, calling at Lisbon, Tangier, Palma, Nice, Leghorn (Livorno), Palermo, Taormina, Santorini, Beirut (for Damascus), Haifa, Jaffa (for Jerusalem) and Alexandria (for Cairo), returning via Malta, Algiers and Gibraltar. Passengers had the option to travel overland and join the ship at Nice (*The Guardian*, 7 February 1894). Goddard's 'little sea trip' was in fact an exhaustive tour of the major Mediterranean tourist ports of the day.

There is no record of Goddard meeting SN again in 1894, but it was not his last trip to the Middle East. On 10 May 1921 he sailed for Port Said on the Narkunda.

SN 47

Jaffa Dec. 2 1892.

Mr Solomon Negima acted as my dragoman in Palestine and Syria for a number of weeks.

I take pleasure recommending him to all travelers in the Holy Land. He speaks good English and is kind and courteous in all his actions. He is a

Oak Hill,
Ipswich.

26 January 1894

Dear Solomon.

I remember you quite well
and often think of the
splendid time we had
together last year.

I remember also that I
promised a book about
coins and antiques, but
I have not been able to
find such a book - There
are many books about coins
but not what you want.
However I do not despair

of finding one yet.
Perhaps I shall see you
again soon, for in March
my wife and I are coming
for a little sea trip in
the steamer Garonne.
We expect to arrive at
Seymour on the 16th March
and we shall probably
drive to Damascus and
spend two ^{or three} days there. I
should like better to ride on
horse back, but I have not time
as we have to leave again
on the 22nd. Then we shall
land at Jaffa on the 24th March
and go up to Jerusalem, where
we shall stay until the 30th March.

I hope I shall see you and
have a bubble-bubble together.
How I should like to ride
again through the country,
it was splendid.
Now you must look out for
me in March.
Good bye.

Yours truly

D. Ford Goddard.

Figure 44 SN 46: Letter from D. Ford Goddard.

thoughtful & thorough Bible student, and his knowledge of the people, customs and places is accurate.

I found him ever a helpful fellow traveler + most compitent [*sic*] dragoman.

I congratulate Mr Rolla Floyd in securing so able a man as “Solomon” & if all his other dragomans are as compitent [*sic*] I do not wonder that he receives from all his tourists such well merited praise.

Rev. E. R. Foley

31 South 12th Ave:

Mount Vernon

New York

U.S.A.

Notes

Rev. Edmund R. Foley (1860–99) was minister at Grace Methodist Episcopal Church in Mount Vernon from 1888 to 1892, when he left on his trip to Europe and the Middle East (US passport issued 9 April 1892). He was subsequently pastor of the Thirty-Seventh Street church in New York City. In 1896 he took up an appointment as pastor in Tucson, Arizona:

He is a young man – a graduate of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and also of Drew Theological Seminary, of Madison, N.J. He has spent one year abroad and for nearly two years was pastor of a prominent M. E. church in New York City. Mr. Foley has the reputation of being the ablest Methodist minister in the territory and Tucson is certainly to be congratulated upon his appointment.

Tucson Citizen, reprinted in *The Coconino Sun*,
Flagstaff, Arizona, 22 October 1896

Rev. Foley was in poor health during his time in Arizona. In the summer of 1896, he visited Prescott, Arizona for the sake of his health, seeing the Grand Canyon and Petrified Forest on the same trip (*Weekly Journal-Miner*, Prescott, Arizona, 22 July 1896). He died young, of pulmonary disease, aged forty.

SN 48

On my arrival at Jaffa I engaged Solomon Negim as my personal attendant & after a two months' tour in Palestine I have pleasure in testifying to his constant honesty, straightforwardness & general good conduct.

(Signed by) E. E. Miller

Batheaston England

At Beirut 21st May 1888

Notes

See Chapter 4; Fig. 12.

SN 49

[Letterhead:] Hotel Continental Cairo

Cairo 15 May 1894

Solomon N. Njeim has been our dragoman during a visit of eleven days just ended to the usual places in and about Jerusalem. He has in this time and service shown that he has an exceptional acquaintance with the places, geography and history of Palestine. His knowledge of the people and the various languages used by them is equally extensive.

It is no small service to the travelling public which places at their disposal one who carries about with him and imparts in so interesting a manner so much information as we have found Solomon to possess. He has our appreciative recognition of all that he has done to make our visit more worth while and we at the same time trust that other visitors to the Holy Land may be equally fortunate.

I write this for my mother, Mrs H. E. Tison, and myself.

Alexander Tison

New York City

Notes

See SN 28 and SN 45.

SN 50

May 20 1891

This is to certify that I have employed Mr Solomon Negamie as my dragoman during ten days spent in Judea and he fulfilled his duties to my entire satisfaction.

H. Milner Black

(Minister)

8 Harley Gardens, West Brompton

London S.W. England

Notes

See Fig. 20.

Rev. H. Milner Black, of this letter and SN 53 of a week later, travelled with Rev Charles T. Walker (SN 43): see Chapter 5.

SN 51

Solomon Nigim has been our dragoman in Jerusalem, we have found him well acquainted with all the sights & a good guide to them. He is very attentive and obliging.

E. Anderson

M. Anderson

Jerusalem

19th March 1889

Notes

No compelling identification can be made.

SN 52

Solomon Negima has been with Mrs A & myself about a week in Jerusalem Jericho &c &c & I have pleasure in stating that we have found him faithful & obliging & having a good knowledge of the country.

S. J. Alexander

Weston S. Mare, England

Feb 11 1891

Notes

Samuel Joseph Alexander (c. 1841–) appears in the 1901 and 1911 censuses as a ‘retired implement manufacturer’ in Weston-Super-Mare. At the time of the 1871 census, he was living in Leominster, Herefordshire, his birthplace, as an ‘ironmonger and landowner’. He was a Quaker, and after his return from the Middle East served on the committee of the Friends’ Syrian Mission, as noted in their Annual Reports for 1894–6. ‘Mrs A’ was named Mary Emma. She was the same age as her husband, and was born in Liverpool.

SN 53

Palestine Hotel, Jaffa

May 27 1891

In company with two others, I was escorted by Solomon Negamie to Jericho, and whilst staying there, to my knowledge he bought a pair of field glasses paying sixteen shillings – (20 francs) – for the same.

H. Milner Black

8 Harley Gardens, S. W. England

Notes

See Fig. 20.

See SN 50. The ‘two other’ are Revs. Walker and Carter (SN 43; Chapter 5). Black’s interest in the field glasses fits with his training as an optician (see Chapter 5).

SN 54

Mr Solomon Mjam has been our Dragoman during a recent tour through Palestine. We travelled without tents, living in native houses + hotels, and our Dragoman therefore had more work than usual, arranging for our accommodation and food. We were exceedingly pleased with him all along. We found him very intelligent & obliging, and he made us as comfortable as he could. We have very much enjoyed the tour, and can confidently recommend our friend to any others who may be contemplating a journey through Palestine.

G. H. Rouse, Missionary Calcutta

Joseph J. Doke
Minister, Bristol

Beyrout Nov 18 1891

Notes

See Fig. 45.

George Henry Rouse (1838–1909) ran the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta. He was the author of several books on religious topics, including *Tracts for Muhammadans* (1893) and the illustrated *Indian and Singhalese Missionary Pictures* (1894). His wife Lydia, who died in 1884, ran a ‘grog shop mission’: she and other ladies spent every Sunday singing and talking sympathetically to sailors in the taverns of Calcutta. Rev. Rouse published a memoir of her, *Work While it is Day*, in 1885.

I have not been able to locate Rouse’s one published work on his trip to the Holy Land, *A Visit to Palestine*, (Calcutta: Christian Literature Society, 1895), which is in Bengali. He also spoke to Anglophone audiences on the topic, including on a visit to New Zealand in 1896, where the *New Zealand Herald* reported that ‘Rev. G. H. Rouse, M.A., D.D., will give a Lecture in the Tabernacle on his recent TRAVELS IN PALESTINE, illustrated by Limelight Views taken during his visit to that country’ (23 October 1897).

Mr. Solomon Nijam has been our companion
during a recent tour through Palestine.
He travelled without tents, living in
native houses & hotels, and our
companion therefore had more work than
usual, arranging for our accommodation
and food. We were exceedingly pleased
with him all along. We found him
very intelligent & obliging, and he
made us as comfortable as he could.
We have very much enjoyed the tour, and
can confidently recommend our friend
to any others who may be contemplating
a journey through Palestine.

Yours truly,
G. H. Rouse, Missionary
Calcutta
Joseph J. Doke,
Minister, Bristol.

Beyrouth
Nov. 18/89.

Figure 45 SN 54: Letter from G. H. Rouse and Joseph J. Doke.

Rev. Joseph John Doke (1861–1913) was also a Baptist minister. He was a friend of Mohandas K. Gandhi, and author of the first significant biography of him, *M K Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa* (1909). Doke was born in England and lived for periods in South Africa and New Zealand. He kept diaries, which were used (along with his letters and the recollections of friends) by his biographer William E. Cursons in *Joseph Doke: The Missionary Hearted* (1929). Solomon Negima appears in these, as ‘Solomon Nijam, a Syrian Greek Catholic, a quiet, reliable, fellow’ (Cursons 1929: 64).

Doke first sailed for South Africa in 1882. As a missionary, his position and social networks were inextricably bound up with the agents and mechanisms of empire. He was a friend of Gandhi, but he was also acquainted with some of the strongest proponents of British imperialism. On a subsequent voyage to the Cape, in 1885, he beat Cecil Rhodes at chess. He was also deeply impressed by H. M. Stanley’s *In Darkest Africa* (1890) (Cursons 1929: 40, 53). Stanley, it may be recalled, sailed on the same ship as Rev. Charles T. Walker in 1891 (SN 43; Chapter 5).

Doke had stayed with Rouse in Calcutta in 1885 (Cursons 1929: 35), and the two travelled together through Egypt and Palestine in 1891. They took the obligatory trip on donkeys to the pyramids ('Sixteen miles on a kicking donkey is like marriage, not to be lightly indulged in') and had the obligatory disagreement with the donkey owners about its quality: 'Everything is good in Cairo, that belongs to a native' (Cursons 1929: 37). When they finally arrived at Giza:

The Pyramids loomed up in all their glory. The colours of pink and purple upon them were lovely. As I descended from my steed, four or five dark-looking sons of the desert, with black short beards and sunburnt faces crowded round me, asking in English if I would go to the top and go inside. I replied in the affirmative and at once four separated themselves from the rest to escort me. . . . I had imagined in my simplicity that round the corner somewhere there must be a pretty flight of steps, with rails perchance, to prevent a fall from that giddy height. What was my utter dismay then to be suddenly hauled up a slight pathway to those great blocks of stone on the face of the pyramid, and, without any ceremony dragged by two sturdy Arabs up the face of the first one, and by dint of pulling by the hands in different directions left to breathe on the third or fourth with heart palpitating and arms all but dislocated.

Cursons 1929: 38

At Jerusalem, they stayed at the aptly-named Hotel Jerusalem, outside the city walls (Cursons 1929: 57–76). Their first day in the city was Sunday, so, they set out to find a Christian place of worship, and ended up hearing the Rev. Arthur Kelk preach at the Anglican church (J. T. Woolrych Perowne's party in 1895 also went to Kelk's service: see Chapter 3). Solomon Negima was hired to take them on a trip of several days to sites such as the Dead Sea and Jordan. They set out from Jerusalem in quite a caravan, Solomon and Doke on horseback, but Rouse in a litter:

Very punctually indeed Solomon appeared with his retainers and after packing our earthly goods together, a comparatively light task by the way, we bade farewell to our hotel companions and prepared to mount.

Every portion of our cavalcade and every person of our company was worthy of regard. There was an individuality about us all that attracted a fair amount of attention from outsiders and that certainly kept us from being lost in the general mass.

Dr. Rouse and his palanquin undoubtedly commanded the most respect, and absorbed the chief attention. Possible the good people of Jerusalem concluded he was some Archbishop bound for a distant province to subdue some rebellious dean, or install some prelate in his See; or maybe his peculiar head-dress suggested the idea of a Papal Nuncio, with a newly-invented cardinal's hat to display his authority. Anyone who is acquainted with my companion will readily understand how conjectures like these might get afloat, especially as during these hot days, he never wore less than two large grey wide-awakes, while a third was kept in reserve to add to the enormous pile should occasion require.

Solomon, who had thrown a white silk handkerchief over his tall fez, and bound it tightly with a slender fillet, rode in front on a splendid little horse of grey colour, waving a white cow's tail, mounted on an olive wand, with the utmost grace.

Cursors 1929: 64-5

Solomon took responsibility for meals and accommodation – which, since they did not bring tents, had to be arranged in each village along the way. Rev. Doke enjoyed the considerable lunches provided:

First we would tether our horses; the palanquin would be set down on the ground, and a small carpet spread under the trees by Solomon. Then would appear out of mysterious bags and packages all manner of comfortable things, cold chicken, junks of beef, hard-boiled eggs, a tin of sardines, a pot of jam, lemons, pomegranates, raisins, and not infrequently water-melons, with the inevitable but thoroughly enjoyable bread.

Cursors 1929: 66.

Once, the party got lost in the dark while trying to find a place to stop for the night. Solomon had to go back and look for the palanquin, which had become stuck in a thicket. He negotiated a place for them to stay in an unfriendly village, with his usual diplomacy, then sent messengers out to search for the missing members of the party:

He told me afterwards that he had, as he called it 'in a political way' won over the indifferent headman, praising his well-known generosity and saying that he had all come there because his fame had spread over the country. 'He couldn't well turn us away after that,' said Solomon, so, with a bad grace, he lent us the almost ruined guest house, and permitted us to hire two mattresses.

Cursors 1929: 70

Solomon later acted as interpreter for the group with a Turkish official in the issuing of passports.

Rev. Doke also published fantasy novels about a lost Egyptian civilization in South Africa: *The Secret City: A Romance of the Karroo* (1913) and *The Queen of the Secret City* (1916).

SN 55

[Letterhead:] Members' Mansions, Victoria Street, S. W.

Quod merui meum est

Mr William Stone recommends with the utmost confidence, Solomon Ngima, to anyone requiring the services of a thoroughly competent dragoman.

Solomon accompanied Mr Stone on a camping tour from Jerusalem to Beyrout via Nabûlus, Nazareth, Tiberias, Damascus, and Baalbek.

During the whole journey the above mentioned Dragoman, who speaks English fluently, proved most civil and obliging, and at the same time knew, what Mr. Stone has so rarely found in men of his class, that he was under orders.

Hotel Belle Vue,

Beyrout, Syria.

8th April 1889.

Notes

See Fig. 46; also Chapter 2.

William Stone (1857–1958) was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and turned down a fellowship there in order to be free to travel. He acquired a large number of sets at the Albany (an apartment building in Piccadilly), which he bequeathed to Peterhouse. In 1951, the writer Henry Baerlein published a book of Stone's highly-entertaining recollections, recorded from conversation. Solomon Negima plays a part in these.

Stone crossed paths with everyone who was anyone in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He knew two of the most notorious gay and

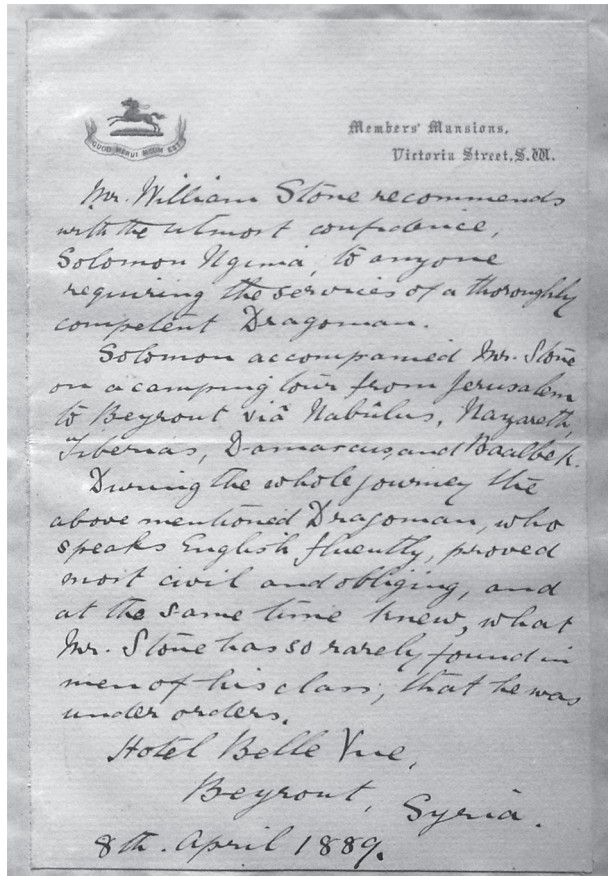


Figure 46 SN 55: Letter from William Stone.

lesbian figures of the period: Lord Alfred Douglas, lover of Oscar Wilde, whom he thought 'extremely good-looking and very unpleasant'; and Radclyffe Hall, author of *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), with whom he used to go riding (Baerlein 1951: 59, 96). In 1897, he travelled up the Nile in company with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and his wife (Baerlein 1951: 27). He was capable of both prejudice and open-mindedness. In the 1870s, he gave botany lectures at the then newly-established Newnham College, Cambridge, and was sceptical about the project of educating women. His attitude appears to have softened over the years, and in his nineties he was able to look back with affection and respect on these pioneer female scholars as 'splendid women' (Baerlein 1951: 59). His recommendation of Solomon Negima, who 'knew, what Mr. Stone has

so rarely found in men of his class, that he was under orders' reveals a more deeply-ingrained class and cultural prejudice.

Stone's tales of his trip to Egypt and up the Nile in 1881–2 (see Chapter 2) are populated by the stereotypical mixture of innocent and cunning natives. He recalled 'the ladder we used to have on board the *dahabeahs* as we sailed along the Nile, so that we could lean the ladder against one of the temples and chip off little bits of it. You could do what you liked, in the early eighties – I was there at the tail end of the old régime' (Baerlein 1951: 10). A Nubian dragoman and a local woman cured a bout of dysentery on the White Nile:

I was down with a severe attack of dysentery and I was dosing myself with chlorodyne to relieve the pain. Well, I lay on a truckle bed, and the dragoman – I can see his old black face – was very concerned. 'It is good of him to feel like that,' I thought. But all he said was, 'If gentleman die, who pays?' He always called me 'my gentleman'. I saw the comic side of it and couldn't help laughing, which did me a lot of good. Then the dragoman brought me a bowl of a green-looking liquid and said, 'One of the women, up forward, wants master drink this.' I was almost *in extremis* and I drank it. I think it was sour milk mixed with something, and it cured me at once. I was talking about this one day at the Athenaeum to Sir Arbuthnot Lane, and he said it would have been worth while to bring that Negress to Cairo in order to find out what the herb was.

Baerlein 1951: 25

Stone's reminiscences must be taken with a pinch of salt; he was a raconteur, playing to an appreciative audience, and knew that his words were being written down for publication. They are undoubtedly embellished, usually for humorous effect or to play up Stone's own role. It is in this light that we must view his account of his travels with Solomon Negima – whose name he does not mention, but who may nevertheless be identified by the date and by the location:

'When,' continued W. S., 'I say I travelled alone I don't mean that in the East I went without a dragoman. I have had some good ones.'

'Would you sooner have an honest or a knowledgeable one?'

'Why shouldn't an honest man be knowledgeable too? It was on the road to Damascus that I had a man of that kind – he was as honest as I could expect and he was very well informed, so well indeed that on the one

occasion when he broke down he was dreadfully depressed and I was very, very sorry for him. I had asked him if he could show me where it was on that famous road that Saul underwent the great moment of his fate and thenceforth was Paul, the pillar of the Church.'

'Did you commend the dragoman for being honest enough to acknowledge his ignorance?'

'I did a little more than that. "Possibly," I said, "it all happened at this very spot where we are standing"'

'Did that make a difference to the dragoman's mood?'

'Not instantly. He didn't seem to grasp what I was suggesting.'

'Perhaps he thought it was too good to be true.'

'Well,' said W. S., 'I repeated the idea. "On this very spot," I told him, "the sublime occurrence may have happened." Thereupon he gazed at me in the most wistful manner. "Can it – can it really be so?" he asked. "But why not?" I told him. "Be of good cheer, my friend" – that is what I said, "because you need no longer be sad. Blessed," I said, "are those who believe." "By God," he assured me, "I have always been a true believer. I have not yet enjoyed to privilege of going to the Holy City, to Mecca, but nevertheless –" "We are not talking for the moment," I said, "about Mecca. One thing at a time," I said. "Listen to me. If when you are conducting a party you stop just here and announce to them that this is the hallowed place where the grand thing happened, some of them will want to kiss the ground. On the other hand there may be some who will demand – there are always people like that – who will demand to know your reason and you will be able to answer them so splendidly." "Yes, yes," he cried, "what shall I answer them?" "Show me," you will say, "that it did *not* happen just here," and not a single person will be able to do so. Therefore you may rejoice.'

'Did he rejoice?' I asked.

'I proposed,' said W. S. 'that he should help me to build a cairn. And for a part of the afternoon we were collecting stones and arranging them on one another until the cairn was big enough. He said that when he came past here again he would uncover in front of the cairn and all of the tourists would uncover, except those who are so proud of being irreligious. "It will be opportune," I told him, "if you utter a few well-chosen words and you will see that most of your audience are deeply moved. There is only one thing," I said, "which may mar the proceedings."'

'You meant,' I said, 'that in every party there are some who decline to believe whatever is not sworn to before a commissioner of oaths.'

‘No,’ said W. S. ‘I meant that if the local authorities would not attend to the cairn it would be certain to vanish, because the pious tourists would not be able to leave one stone upon another.’

Baerlein 1951: 142–3

There are certainly elements of this story that are embroidered or misremembered: the incident took place sixty years earlier. Solomon’s reference to the Haj, for example, does not make sense, since he was a Christian, but Stone, in his extempore performance, found Islam a better source of colourful local phrases than Christianity. Whether or not he gave Solomon the idea to invent Biblical locations for his clients, the episode reveals what Stone thought of the typical tour of Palestine – which pointed out the spots where the Good Samaritan helped the man injured by robbers, or where Jesus raised the widow’s son. Others were more credulous. Stone amused himself by observing how ‘Americans thoroughly enjoyed themselves by picking up pebbles from the brook where David slew Goliath – hundreds of the identical pebble used by David are treasured today in the States’ (Baerlein 1951: 10–11).

SN 56

Beirut, Syria, 4/29 ‘91

I cheerfully commend Mr Solomon Negima as a prudent, efficient, intelligent and gentlemanly Dragoman to all who may desire his services. With my daughter and others in one of H. Gaze’s and Son’s parties, I made the trip from Jerusalem to Jericho and from Jerusalem to Beirut by way of Baalbek in April 1891.

John M. Barnett

Washington, Pa.

U.S.A.

Marguerite Barnett

Notes

The Barnetts travelled with A. A. Williams and E. H. Pierce (SN 35), D. K. Tindall (SN 29), the Grahams (SN 62) and Lord Dalrymple (SN 37), for at least part of the way.

Rev. John Morrison Barnett (1826–1907) was a former Presbyterian missionary to the Lake Superior region. He published the *Annals of the Early Protestant Churches at Superior* (1908). His passport, issued on 30 January 1891, records that he was unusually tall for the period, at six feet one-and-a-half inches, with a high forehead, light blue eyes, straight nose, medium mouth, short chin, grey hair, fair complexion and round face. He was one of the founders of the Markleton Sanitarium or ‘health resort’ in Pennsylvania, and served as chaplain there.

His daughter, Marguerite Bright Barnett (1866–1933), known as Maggie, was manager of the same sanitarium, and active in the Daughters of the American Revolution. As her obituary recorded:

After graduating from Washington Seminary, she took a course in art and painting at Philadelphia.

She had great executive ability, managing the Markleton Sanitarium, a favorite resort for Pittsburg persons and engaging in the coal and lumber business. For some years she was chairman of the credentials committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Memorial Hall, Washington D.C. In 1923 she was elected to the national office of corresponding secretary general under the presidency of Mrs. Lowell Fletcher Hobart.

She was a member of the Pittsburg Chapter, D.A.R.; the Daughters of the Colonies; the Ladies’ Aid Society of Markleton; Kingwood Grange No. 1763 of Somerset county, and the Twentieth Century Club of Pittsburg.

The Daily Courier, Connellsville, Pennsylvania, 15 March 1933

SN 57

Jerusalem

6th Feby. 1894

Mr Solomon Negima has acted as my Dragoman my short stay in the Holy Land, of Five days. During that time I have found him, at all times, attentive, and willing to please. I can truly say that, I believe him faithful in the discharge of his duties and to be depended on.

Walter S. Nibbs

London

Notes

Walter S. Nibbs (c. 1853–) travelled to Palestine from the Caribbean. He belonged to a family which owned sugar plantations in Antigua, and has a very distant literary connection. At the time of the 1881 census, he was living in London in a lodging house in Islington, where he is recorded as a draper, born in the West Indies. Nibbs may be traced in the passenger lists of the vessels which brought him from Antigua to the Middle East and back. He arrived at New York from Antigua on the *Caribee* on 9 September 1893, and at Liverpool on the *Lucania* on 14 November; he is recorded in both lists as a ‘Draper’. He set out for New York from Liverpool, once again on the *Lucania*, on 24 March 1894.

In 1760, Rev. George Austen, father of Jane, was appointed as trustee of the Antiguan plantation of James Langford Nibbs (1738–95), who five years later acted as godfather for Austen’s son, James. Nibbs was a former pupil of the Rev. Austen’s at Oxford. This relationship acted as source material for Jane Austen in *Mansfield Park* (Gibbon 1982). I have not been able to trace the precise connection between James Langford and Walter S. Nibbs.

The Nibbs family had formerly been slave-owners; another of Solomon Negima’s clients, Rev. Charles T. Walker, was born into slavery (SN 43; Chapter 5). Several members of the Nibbs family appear in the database of the *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project at University College London, which records those compensated for the loss of their slaves after slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1834 (www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/).

SN 58

Haifa

March 3/93

Solomon Negima has been our Dragoman for the last 3 weeks and has given us every satisfaction. He is a most intelligent man, civil and obliging.

J. H. Anderson W. 8.

R. M. Middleton

G. J. Middleton

M. Anderson
G. Phillips
Mrs Middleton
Wembley Park
W. Harrow
Middlesex
England

Notes

Robert Marshall Middleton (1857–1942) was a barrister, educated at Harrow and at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (*Harrow School Register 1800–1911*, London, 1911: 454). His parents are the other Middleton signatories: George Middleton (1823–1902), listed as ‘District Probate Registrar’ in Chester in the 1891 census, although formerly resident in Kensington, and Mary Woolstone Middleton (1818–1907). The Mrs Middleton of Solomon’s letter may be either the latter, or Robert’s wife, the former Henrietta Ellen Gooden.

I can find no secure information on Phillips or the Andersons.

SN 59

[Letterhead:] Belmont Hall,
Montreal

Mrs Molson wishes to recommend Solomon Negima (the bearer) whom she Mrs Molson employed as dragoman in Jerusalem as being very well suited for the purpose & is well acquainted with the city & has been very obliging.
Hotel Fiel
Jerusalem March 2nd 91

Notes

Anne Molson (1824–99) belonged to the Molson family of Montreal, whose businesses included the eponymous brewery. She was the daughter of William Molson, and married her first cousin John Molson, son of John Molson Jr. In

1860, her father-in-law died and she and her husband moved to Belmont Hall. She was a prominent philanthropist, in particular to McGill University, and to women's educational causes (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 12). She was founding president of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association, which was established at a meeting at Belmont Hall in 1871. Due in part to their efforts, women were admitted to McGill University in 1884.

SN 60

[Postcard with photograph of Solomon Negima and a European or American woman, standing, and a man in local dress, seated.]

April 3 1905

My dear Solomon

I want to send you this little souvenir of our trip to the Dead Sea.

[Yours] sincerely

[.]eila Brown

Address on reverse:

Mr Solomon Ndjeim

(Dragoman)

c/o Thos Cook & Son

Jerusalem

Palestine

Postmark: Jerusalem. The stamp has been torn off.

Notes

See Fig. 47.

Solomon may be recognized from the pictures taken during his time at Floyd House (see Fig. 22 and Fig. 23).

There are two plausible reconstructions for the name of the sender: Leila or Sheila. I can make no secure identification with a person of that name who travelled in Palestine at the relevant period, but there is one possible candidate

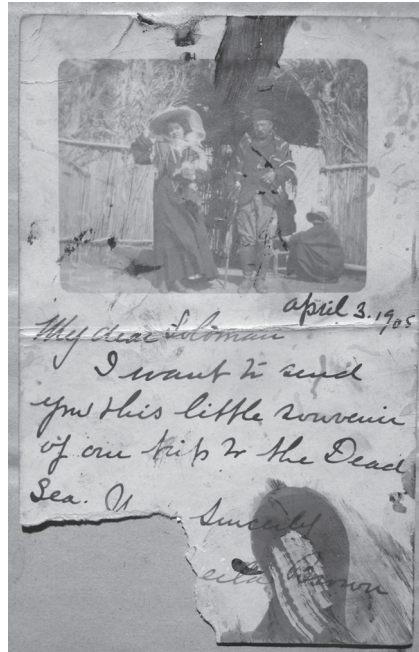


Figure 47 SN 60: Postcard with photograph of Solomon Negima and a client.

whose story is too interesting not to recount, even if she is not the person in question.

On 16 October 1892, *The Evening World* of Brooklyn reported on a high society wedding:

WEDDED A VANDERBILT NEPHEW

Miss Leila Brown Becomes W. V. Kissam's Bride

The marriage of Mr William Vanderbilt Kissam and Miss Leila Homeyard Brown, daughter of DeWitt Clinton Brown, of 91 Remsen street, Brooklyn, took place at Christ Episcopal Church, corner of Clinton and Harrison streets, last night. Mr. Kissam is a nephew of Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Dr. Kinsolving.

The bride, a beautiful blonde, wore a dainty gown of white satin and point lace. Miss Mabel Stanwood was maid of honor and Frank Kernan, son of the late ex-Senator Kernan, was best man.

The bridesmaids, who were all dressed in pink, were Miss Grace Potter, of Syracuse; Miss Florence Walker, Miss Lillian Osborn and Miss Edna

Mappleson. A large reception was held after the ceremony at the home of the bride's father.

The fairy-tale marriage did not last; Kissam was drunken, abusive and financially irresponsible. The press reported their eventual divorce under sensationalist headlines such as 'Vanderbilt Skeletons' (*Boston Post*, 25 October 1896). The case was judged in Leila's favour. Kissam had made an apparent attempt to get sober (he had 'during the last five years, spent much of his time in institutions devoted to the cure of the liquor habit'), but with no success. He was found dead in a cheap lodging house on Mulberry Street in Manhattan in 1903, a fact reported with a typical lack of sensitivity by the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (21 November, 1903), which ran the headline 'Married Miss Leila Brown. She Got a Divorce From Him, and Since Then He Had Led a Very Irregular Life'. The journalist later uses the phrase 'orgies of dissipation'.

After the breakdown of the marriage, Leila went to live in Europe for some time, with their son, Clinton Brown Kissam (1894–1909). The public scandal and press attention must have made it difficult for her to live in New York. They returned in around 1908, and resided at a fashionable hotel, the Hotel Bossert, in Brooklyn. Her son died in an accident in 1909. In January 1910, still in deep mourning, she was married in a quiet ceremony to George Herbert Smith of Manhattan, president of the Ladue Leather Company.

I leave the matter of the identification of Leila Brown Kissam with the person photographed with Solomon Negima to the reader's discretion. There is space in the missing portion of the card for her married name, or she may have chosen to live and travel discreetly by her maiden name.

SN 61

Sir Benjamin Stone
Erdington
England

Notes

See Fig. 48. Written above a photograph (of Solomon?).

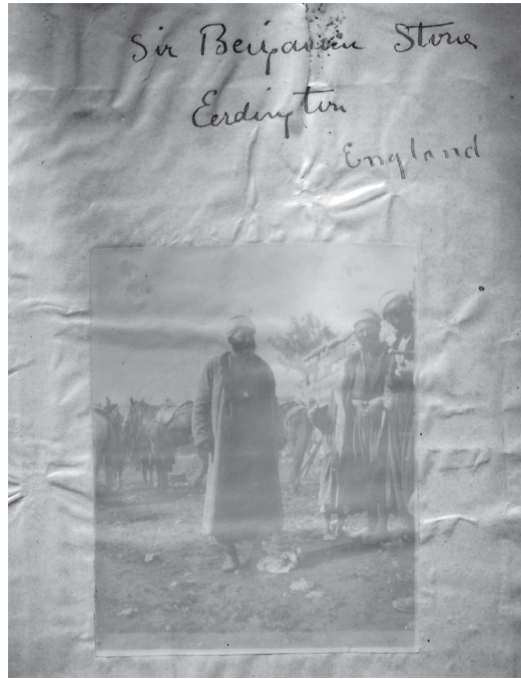


Figure 48 SN 61: Photograph by Benjamin Stone.

Sir John Benjamin Stone (1838–1914) was a Conservative politician and photographer (Ford 1974; Jay 1972). There is no date associated with the photograph and signature, but he is known to have travelled to the Middle East on several occasions: he was in Syria and Egypt in the spring of 1895, and Egypt in 1907. Stone took a series of portraits of members of the House of Parliament and House of Lords, including another of Solomon Negima's clients, Daniel Ford Goddard (SN 16 and SN 46; on this collection see Stone 1906).

In 1904 he visited Algiers, and recorded his difficulties in getting locals to pose for pictures:

The difficulty among the natives was that their religion Mahometanism prohibits them from making pictures of any natural object. Consequently, they do not like being photographed, and it was hard work to persuade them to let me 'take' them. What I did was to win over their head men, for if one of their chieftains tells them to do a thing they obey orders.

Jay 1972: no page numbers

Stone's photographic archive is kept at Birmingham Central Library.

SN 62

[Letterhead:] Hotel Feil,
Jerusalem

April 7, 1891

Mr. Solomon Negima has been our dragoman while in Palestine. We found him to be polite and attentive to business, well acquainted with the country and historical facts most interesting to tourists. 'Tis with pleasure we recommend his services to any who may wish to visit the Holy Land.

Angie Graham
Julesburg, Colo.

O. H. P. Graham
Brownsville Pa.
U.S.A.

Notes

Angeline Graham (1847/8–1900) of Beaver County, Pennsylvania, moved to Colorado with her sister, Ethalinda 'Nellie' Graham (1840–) in 1886. They lived and farmed independently. Angie Graham's visit to family in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, in January 1891 was reported in the papers under the headline 'Two Plucky Girls: They Settle in the Far West to Shift for Themselves' (*Pittsburgh Dispatch*, 11 January 1891). The report concludes that 'Miss Angie has long had a desire to visit Palestine and the Holy Land, and will do so before returning to the West'.

Angie's travelling companion was her brother, Rev. Oliver Hazard Perry Graham Jr (1856–1910), a Methodist Episcopal minister. Their joint passport, issued on 3 February 1891, was stamped for delivery to 'H. Gaze and Son, Tourist Agents, of London, 940 B'way New York'.

SN 63

Solomon Najeme has been our dragoman during an eight weeks tour in Palestine. He accompanied us from Jaffa to Jerusalem, Jericho, Gaza, Tell es

Safia, Bethel, Shilo, Nablus, Nazareth, Mount Carmel, Tiberias, Safed, Banias, Damascus + Baalbec. He is I believe thoroughly truthful + honest, + has a good knowledge of English. I am very sorry to part with him.

J. D. Tremlett

April 28th /90

Beyrout

Notes

James Dyer Tremlett (1836–1918) and Mrs Tremlett sailed for Port Said on the *Kaisar-i-Hind* on 13 Feb 1890. His biography appears in *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1922–53). He studied at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and was a barrister with the Indian Civil Service. He retired as Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab in 1889. At the time of the 1891 census he and his wife Louisa lived in Dedham in Essex.

Louisa Helen Tremlett, née Gibson (c. 1843–1917) was in the fifth generation of her family to be born in Ceylon. Her father, William Carmichael Charles Gibson (1812–92) was formerly Colonial Secretary there.

This is the final letter in the book; the rest are loose.

SN 64

[Loose letter.]

Beyrout, Syria

Feb. 21st 1898

As a member of one of Mr H. E. Clark & parties I acknowledge with pleasure your efforts in my behalf as dragoman in Jerusalem & on the trip to Jaffa, Beyrout and Damascus.

I have appreciated your knowledge of these places and endeavours to make my trip to the Holy Land and Syria a pleasant one. My enjoyment has only been marred by inclement weather.

Very truly yours,

Wm. Decatur Parsons

To

Solomon N. Ngeim

Dragoman

Notes

See Fig. 49. The letter is written on black-bordered mourning notepaper.

William Decatur Parsons (1855–1930), of New York, was an attorney. He was the great-nephew of Stephen Decatur (1779–1820), a Commodore in the US Navy and popular military hero. He was a frequent traveller, with passport and shipping records attesting trips to Cuba, the West Indies, the Far East and the Pacific. His passport of 6 January 1897 helpfully specifies that his height is five feet eight inches ‘in shoes’.

Parsons left an estate worth one million dollars. A sword which had belonged to Commodore Decatur was given to the United States Naval Academy and a portrait to the National Gallery of Art in Washington DC (*The Brooklyn Daily*

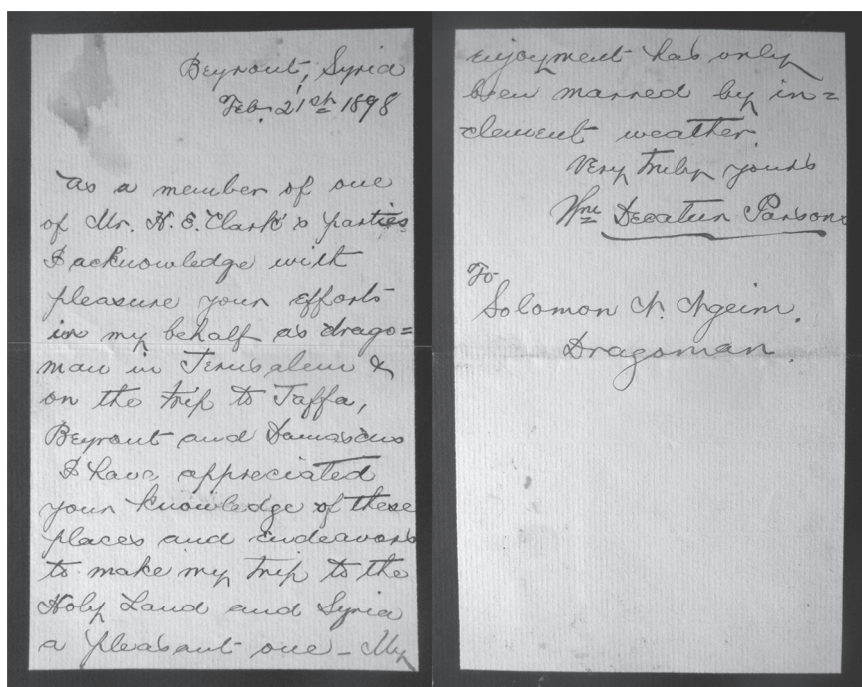


Figure 49 SN 64: Letter from William Decatur Parsons.

Eagle, 20 May 1930). A bequest of \$1,000 was left to the Bide-a-Wee Home for Animals on Thirty-Eighth Street in Manhattan, in memory of a beloved pet dog.

SN 65

[Loose letter.]

Jaffa 15/4/02

Mrs Whittam and her daughter have pleasure in testifying to the satisfactory manner in which the camping arrangements of No.4 Tour were carried out. The palanquin used by Mrs Whittam & the horse used by Miss Whittam left nothing to be desired. The tents were most comfortable & the service excellent.

Messrs Cook & Sons Agent & Manager in Jerusalem most kind & attentive in seeing to all arrangement for the comfort of the party.

Notes

In the absence of even an initial, never mind a first name or address, I can find no information on the Whittams.

SN 66

Jaffa – Nov. 11, 1914

Dear Sister: – How are you this sun-shiny morning. I would just like to see your bright smiling faces.

Everything is as quiet and nice in Jaffa as can be. Do not fear. I think the government means to do its best for the people every while. Don't get lonely either. Just be busy with your fancy work and sewing, and almost before you know it, this war will be over, and once more will the missionaries return to cheer you up. I am still sorry to leave this country of charms.

Sunday Bro. Greene and all of us went up to the Greek Convent, and we had just all the nice oranges we could eat. I wish you could have been with us.

This morning we are going to the sea-side. Yesterday we went to the house of Simon, the Tanner.

Remember me to your mother and father. You must cheer them up and make things as pleasant as possible. And if it is lord's will, Olinda, that you should go to America, I think you will be able to go. But don't forget there is a work in Palestine to do also, and he may possibly want you to help in that work in your own land, so don't get discouraged.

Lovingly, Sr. Koehler.

Notes

See Fig. 24; see Chapter 6.

SN 67

[Letterhead:] Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Ulysses W. Greene

Winter Hill, Mass.

Minister in General Charge

Eastern States and Maritime Provinces

Mission N. 3

Jaffa, Nov, 11, 1914.

Dear Bro Solomon and all the family:-

Saintly Greetings:-

We arrived here safely and are staying at Mrs Hilpins and providing our own meals. Getting along fine. It is lovely down here; we miss you all very much. It made us all very sad when we saw the sorrowful faces, as the train pulled out the day we left. Therefore, if there had been boats, we could not have embarked, for the sea has been so rough, no boats could line over the harbor bar. Somehow I feel bad about leaving Jerusalem, my work certainly has not been fully accomplished, yet there came no special revelation directing what to do, so we are moving largely by our own wisdom. For my part I prefer staying, if it was possible to obtain our money and thus meet expenses.

I instructed Bro Jenkins to supply you with funds from the German Book so you can get along for five or six months and by that time we will be able to reach you with more.

I hope before Bro Jenkins leaves you will have Victoria baptized and this bring her more directly under God's blessing. We are placing a heavy responsibility upon Olinda's shoulders and trust she will prove her ability. Help her, but don't add to her burden.

Eziz may want to stay on the place for a time but has funds to care for himself. He is strong and can work on his own land at Ramalla, and make a living if he tries. Arthur may leave Saturday via Beirut, but I shan't go til Tuesday, direct to Alexandria, the Lord permitting.

Bro & Sr Jenkins may reach here by that time. Can't cash any checks and will have difficulty getting there.

Remember me to Eziz and Sr Brown. May God bless you all and keep you ever faithful to him.

Regards to your wife and the dear children.

In gospel bonds,

U. W. Greene

P.S. Olinda may look after my mail after Bro Jenkins leaves. Keep and use all papers and magazines. Try to forward the letters if possible.

Home address

55 a. Grant St,

Winter Hill, Mass. U.S.A.

Notes

See Fig. 25; see Chapter 6.

SN 68

[Envelope:] B [or 8?] MCH1915

Mr Solomon Njeam

Floyd House

Jerusalem

Palestine

Care American Consul

[Postmark:] Winter Hill Mass., Mar 5 12-30P 1915

[Stamp on back:] American Consulate

APR 8 1916

Jerusalem, – Syria

[In pencil on back:] The Standard Oil Company of New York, New York City

[Letterhead:] Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Ulysses W. Greene

Winter Hill, Mass.

Minister in General Charge

Eastern States and Maritime Provinces

Mission N. 3

55 Grant Str Winter Hill, Mass. March 5th, 1915.

Mr Solomon Njeam

My Dear Bro and family:-

Your letter written in Arabic together with one dated January 4th, received, the last one this morning. I was very glad to hear from you and to learn of your welfare and that of your family. I cabled 832.63 cents to you about Christmas and hope you received it all right which will be less the cost of cabling. This week am sending a large amount of food supplies to Bro. Jenkins with instructions to see that all the saints receive their share. It will be sent on the American government boat "Vulcan" leaving Philadelphia this week. There will be food enough to last all your people I hope, til this cruel war is over.

I met an Asyrian man on the boat leaving Jaffa, who was held up by the authorities in Egypt, not having American passports: as he was from Providence, Rhode Island, where I am well acquainted, I interceded with the Consul and got him thru all right. Being in that city last week called on him and had him translate your letter.

Do you know I am homesick to return to Jerusalem. There is something about the city and country I like notwithstanding the many disadvantages.

Then as I got acquainted with the native people more and more I could see the good in them and that all they want is a chance in life.

Am satisfied the way to work in Jerusalem and all over that land is as we were doing in Mt. Lebanon: going from house to house and carrying the message to the people. In that way they can be reached.

I have not given up the idea of returning to Jerusalem after the war is over and peace declared. It seems that then we can do more than ever before. Most of the people will be humble as a result of their sufferings and can be reached with the healing balm of the gospel.

There is much suffering in the cities of this land this winter on account ow [sic] the war conditions in Europe which keep us from selling our goods abroad: they have relief stations here and there and hundreds line up daily for bread and coffee. It is a sad sight, but nothing compared to European conditions. We hope that business will improve as the men are able to adjust themselves to the changed conditions.

You did not mention your son Eziz, where is he and what is he doing? Neither did you mention Mr Djarious: has he been allowed to continue at his school work? How are the girls and boys? When you go to the school give my regards to the boys: tell the little clay worker to study hard to become proficient and learn how to make tiling, for he can find work anywhere if he does. Proficient men are in demand. I hope that Queeny is studying English so she can talk with me when I return. And little Olga, if she can continue making lace, we can sell it for her as soon as conditions are so it can reach us with safety. Will be glad to do this for her any time. Will try and get her patterns like they are wearing in this land as soon as we can send them thru.

Some times I wake in the morning and it seems I can hear Eziz whistling with that peculiar Arab break in it that used to sound so funny to us.

You did not say whether Mrs Webb and family were still on the place or whether there are any roomers or not.

Give my regards to Sr Brown. I trust she is getting along all right and is safe in her little room.

How are the flower beds? Do you know I studied that peace [sic] of ground til I can see it from that porch, just how it looked, and how I wanted it to look it would have been beautiful indeed.

It may interest you to know that Bro Koehler is expecting an heir this summer? They are happy in the thought, but wanted me to keep it secret.

I know all their Jerusalem friends will rejoice with them. It is too good news to keep.

My wife has been in poor health for a long time and may have to go in the hospital for an operation. The girls are about the same. Marion in school and Mildred teaching music. I am lecturing upon Palestine in different places. It is wonderful the interest people have in that land.

Will leave home the 13th. for Independence Missouri, where the quorum of twelve meet to prepare for the Cen. Conference. You probably know the aged president died in December and that we will set apart his successor at the conference. It will be an interesting experience for us all.

The winter has been mild and I have been glad for I hate cold weather.

Spring is at hand and soon we can get out of doors all the time with comfort. Be sure to give my regards to All the friends: Djarious and family, Seliba and family, Eziz, Sr Brown, Bro and Sr Jenkins, and that Men we met on the train who came to church: Mordadi, and all the members of your little family. May God bless you all and keep you safely I pray.

With saintly regards,

U.W. Greene

SN 69

55 Grant St. Winter Mill, Mass. August 18, 1915

Mr Solomon Njeam

Dear Bro:-

Your letter reached me after many weeks of delay somewhere on the way. Was very glad to hear from you and learn of your welfare and that of your family.

It is now one year since we learned of the outbreak of the war that so suddenly terminated our work in Mt. Lebanon, and brought about the vexatious conditions that surrounded us on the way home and caused us to temporarily withdraw from Palestine.

I have never ceased to think of the friends left in that land, or to pray for their protection and care. I have tried to reach the mission with means and provisions, at different times, but according to your report have failed.

I tried to forward money this week thru Standard Oil, but owing to conditions prevailing it is impossible: however they informed me that the State Department at Washington would undertake to forward money, I have written them and should hear within a few days and feel assured that they can reach Jerusalem where others fail. Shall send all money to Bro. Jenkins who will be instructed to pay you \$30.00 which will care for you for a few months.

We have arranged to take the place for another year feeling that it will be cheaper for us to keep the place and thus be prepared to go on with our work as soon as conditions will admit of our return. This means that you will be furnished with rooms on the place to make you comfortable, and all the members of the church the same.

I hope this finds you and family enjoying good health.

Convey my personal regards to all on the place, together with Mr. Djarious family, Modrisi and all the friends.

May God bless and protect you all I pray.

Hastily and fraternally, yours,

U. W. Greene

[Handwritten:] The Treasurer of the American board of Foreign Missions, informed me last week that the money sent you last January would have been paid you ere this. If not received be sure to write me.

Notes

See Fig. 26; see Chapter 6.

SN 70

[Envelope:]

E NOV 30/15

Mr Solomon Njeam

Floyd House

Jerusalem

Palestine

[Postmark:] Elk Mills MD Nov 30 1915

[Back of envelope: two indistinct postmarks, both in Arabic at least in part, one reading 'Beyrouth'.]

55 Grant St, Winter Hill, Mass. Nov. 30, 15

Miss Olinda Njeam

My Dear Sister:-

Your letter was received and I learned of your welfare with pleasure. One year ago I was on my way home, and suffering from sea sickness, but glad to be approaching my native land. The contrast is very great. Here we have the green grass everywhere, and beautiful trees that adorn the landscape. Nearly every village has a factory where people work and earn good money. They are very comfortable and happy.

I had hoped that you could have found employment and a good home over here, but the cruel war has upset all plans. As I have written your father, it is almost impossible to get letters thru, and others things are out of the questions.

I want you to tell me how you are getting along at the mission house how much is being paid you each month? Are conditions pleasant? Your last letter intimated that they were not, but if you wrote me about unpleasant things, it never reached me. Write me freely, fully, and as soon as possible we will relieve the situation.

I suppose Queeny is in Haifa and that Job and the little brother are home. You wrote me Eziz had returned from Lebanon. Remember me to them all.

My heart still turns towards Jerusalem, and I hope still to return and continue my work under pleasanter conditions.

May God bless you and protect you and all your loved ones.

I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Remember me to them all whom I knew.

Your brother in Christ

U. W. Greene

Why don't you make a lot of lace collars, doilies and such things? After the war we can easily sell them in this country for you.

SN 71

[Enclosed in the same envelope with SN70.]

55 Grant St, Winter Hill, Mass. Nov. 30, 15

Mr Solomon Njeam

Dear Bro:-

Your letter, and that of Olinda, reached me several days ago. I was certainly glad to hear from you and learn of your welfare in these troublous times. It has been so difficult to reach Jerusalem, either by mail, or in any other way, that at times I have dispaired [*sic*] of doing it. The fact that your last letter reached me, causes me to try again. I cabled \$100.00 to Bro. Jenkins in August: \$30.00 was to be paid to you. We hope you received it all right. He may pay it in monthly installments, which will enable you to get along.

I am now trying to cable more money, but have no definite news today, so can only say, be hopeful: we will get it there if possible. It will be sent in Bro Jenkins name, thru the State Department, from Washington. We cannot send it direct to you as they will only forward to American sitizens [*sic*], but Bro Jenkins will be instructed to pay to you from month to month, and to properly provide for you if he leaves.

I regret that the money I sent last January never reached you. Will send a trace after it when I reach home, and possibly it will return to me, otherwise we will know what became of it.

I hope you are all well and are fairly comfortable. Let me know how you are getting along and how much you are receiving each month. I would like to hear the news. What is happening on the place, and in the country. My wife continues in poor health, but is able to do her work with the help of the girls.

The work of the Lord is fairly prosperous in this land. Business is good: people making money.

I would like to send you all Christmas presents but nothing would reach you so you must be content with my prayers and the wish that it may be a pleasant Christmas and a Happy New Year. Convey my regards to Sr Njeam, the girls and boys: Eziz, Mishena, Zackery, Mr Djarious and family, Sr Brown, Bro and Sr Jenkins and all others.

May God bless and protect you all. Your brother in Christ

U. W. Greene

SN 72

Our address is changed.

Here it is –

Sargentville, Maine, U.S.A.

March 18, 1918

My dear Olinda,

Your letter written Dec. 28, 1917 reached me to-day, and words will not express how glad I was to receive it. We have been waiting and hoping for news from you ever since the British captured Jerusalem. It certainly must have given you great joy to welcome them, and we rejoiced with you. It is surely very kind of them to take your mail free as you say.

Your letter made me feel very sad, Olinda, and I felt I could not sleep tonight before writing you a word of comfort and cheer. Surely God has protected you, and he will surely continue to do so. We are about to go to Missouri to attend the General Conference of the church. We shall see Bro. Greene there, and show him your letter, and together we shall do all in our power to assist you in every way. We have only been waiting for a word from you to know the way was open. I shall try to send you a box of clothing for all, and I know Bro. Greene will send both food and money if possible. He send hundreds of pounds of foodstuffs to the mission house for you all. Yet only baking powder and lard were delivered, we understand. The reason for this of course was very evident. The Turks did not have any use for baking powder, and they were afraid of the lard, as it was pig fat. But they kept all the good things for themselves.

We have indeed thought of you many, many times and prayed for you often. Bro. Greene visited us last August, and we had a long talk about Jerusalem. We remembered your tear-stained faces, as you and ~~Olinda~~ Victoria watched us depart at the station. We certainly hope to see you all again. Bro. Greene expects to go to Jerusalem as soon as the war is over. He spoke of our going, too.

Yes, our little boy is a delight. I will send you a couple of pictures, and he knows now where to find Olinda. While I have not mentioned you all individually, this letter is for your family with the best of good wishes to all. Now do write again, and tell me about our acquaintances then also, if they are all right. And I wish you would write a letter to "The Herald". Tell us about conditions, then. The church people would be so thankful for it. I will have it printed.

Most lovingly,
 Sister Koehler.
 Bro. Koehler sends kindest regards to all.

SN 73

[Letterhead:] Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
 Office of First President

Independence, Missouri,
 January Twenty-seventh,
 1919.

Dragoman Solomon Najeim,
 General Delivery,
 Jerusalem Palestine.

Dear Brother:

Letter of December 9 written by Olinda just received. We are glad to learn that you have all survived the war and are well, but your letter fails to mention your son Eziz or our house boy Eziz. What has become of him? them? What has become of Mr. Dejarius and family?

We expect to arrange at the general conference in April for the appointment of missionaries to the Holy Land, and it is just possible that Brother and Sister Koehler will be returned.

I trust that you will improve the time by talking with your friends, as you meet with them from time to time, of the latter day work, for we are anxious to have people interested in our work by the time we return. I would be glad to have you write to Roum, Lebanon, and find out if the boy George, that I baptised, is still living and what the opportunity will be if we decide to send one or two people in there.

We hope that you and family will do all that you can to help us build up the work, and that you will avoid everything that would enable the people to criticise or look with disfavor upon you, or that would hinder the success of our work. We shall need your assistance, and even though the city be filled with soldiers we hope you will succeed in keeping yourselves pure. We pray God to bless you.

Very cordially yours,
 U. W. Greene
 UWG..JM

SN 74

[The following papers were included with the book; they are all letters of condolence, in Arabic, to Aziz and Lulu on the death of Solomon Negima in late July 1933. All translations are by Sophie Spencer.]

[Envelope:] Jerusalem, Department of Public Works. To the virtuous Khawaja Aziz Njem, with respect.

1/8/1933

Dear Khawaja Aziz Njem, with respect,

I have received this morning the news of your late father's passing away, and I was deeply saddened by that. That is why I am writing you these lines to express my sympathy for you in these hard times, hoping that God may rest his soul in peace, and also patience for you, and may God protect you and give you an everlasting life.

Doctor Michael Maalouf

SN 75

[Envelope:] Jerusalem, Department of Public Works. To the reputed, virtuous Khawaja Aziz Njem, with respect.

[Postmark:] Haifa, 2 August 33.

Haifa- the 2nd of August 1933.

Dear Khawaja Aziz Njem, with respect,

We received the news of your father's passing away. We are so sorry to hear this news and we share your grief. May he rest in peace and we wish a long-lasting life to you. May God keep misfortune away from you and protect you.

Dawoud Ward Issa's widow and children.

SN 76

[Envelope:] Department of Public Works, To the reputed, virtuous Khawaja Aziz Nejm, with respect, may he have a long life.

[Postmark:] Haifa, 2 August 33.

Haifa – the 2nd of August 1933.

Dear reputed, virtuous Khawaja Aziz Njem,

Today we received the news of your father's passing away – may he rest in peace. We are so sorry to hear this tragic news and we share your grief. May God bestow his mercy on him and give you and your family a long life. May God protect you.

Grace Issa.

SN 77

[Telegram, stamped Jerusalem 2 August 33.]

Palestine Posts, Telegraphs & Telephones

Telegram [in Arabic and Hebrew alongside the English]

Handed in at: Haifa

Time: 0714 on: 2

Received at: 0721

To: Aziz Nejm, Department of Works. Madame Lulu, Jerusalem.

We give you our condolences for the passing away of your father; we wish you and your family a long life.

Shukri Ibrahim Hajjar

Notes

This is one of two condolence letters which are addressed to Lulu as well as Aziz. A telegram envelope, printed in English, Arabic and Hebrew, accompanied the letters, but it is impossible to know which telegram it originally contained. The word 'abrham' or 'abrhaem' is written several times on it, in pencil, in Roman script.

SN 78

[Telegram, stamped Jerusalem 2 August 33.]
Palestine Posts, Telegraphs & Telephones
Telegram [in Arabic and Hebrew alongside the English]
Handed in at: Jaffa
Time: 0900 on: 2
Received at: 0909
To: Aziz Njem and family. Public Works Jerusalem.
We give you our sincere condolences.
Michele Mtran and family.

SN 79

[Telegram, stamped Jerusalem 2 August 33.]
Palestine Posts, Telegraphs & Telephones
Telegram [in Arabic and Hebrew alongside the English]
Handed in at: Haifa
Time: 0715 on: 2
Received at: 0723
To: Aziz Njem, Department of Works; Madame Lulu, Jerusalem.
We give you condolences for the passing away of your father, hoping for a long life for you and your family.
Jabra [last name not clear – could be Mondas]

SN 80

[Telegram, stamped Jerusalem 3 August 33.]
Palestine Posts, Telegraphs & Telephones
Telegram [in Arabic and Hebrew alongside the English]
Handed in at: Acre
To: Aziz Njem at the Department of Works, Jerusalem.

May your lost one rest in peace, and condolences to all of you.
Qatran.

SN 81

Acre, August 6, 1933

Dear Aziz Njem, Njem family and friends, Aziz's mother, and all relatives, with respect,

I have received with great sorrow the news of the passing away of your father, the head of the Njem family, the great Suliman Nāṣīf Njem, who is going to be missed by the church and the community. He always cared about me and the Matta family. We lost him without getting our final blessings from him and kissing his generous hands: he was very generous and merciful. May God have mercy on him as large as the basis of Christianity and its rules that are based on the basis of pioussness, love and peace. Those are the qualities of the Christian faith that kept, and will keep, you father's memory everlasting in our community. His name and memory will be always remembered and loved by his family and friends, especially by people he helped. Yes, anyone who had those Christian qualities and virtues, and was faithful to his family and relatives without a doubt will enjoy heavenly everlasting rest and eternal happiness beside our lord Jesus Christ, where "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him".

Anyone who is going to take heaven as a place of living should be felt happy for and not mourned!!!

He left us with a virtuous widow, worthy children and virtuous relatives and family. Our lost one was a respected and generous man who lived as a faithful husband, a good father and a loving grandfather both in action and words. He died an honorable death as a faithful Christian in his words, his actions and his thoughts. He saw his children and grandchildren surround him and left them fulfilled of life and blessings. He got what he deserved in life and won what King David wished for one day when he asked God to take his life either as a baby or an old man.

This is the circle of life, we are destined to die in this world, but what's after this world is eternity. May blessings be bestowed upon the person who obeys the lord and wins a place in heaven. He is someone every Christian must think about; we should keep the memory of this man and take his life as an example to live by. Replace your tears and sorrows with prayers for his soul: it is the best remedy, it is the holiest duty you can do for his virtues and generosity. May God bless him and grant him everlasting rest, and bless you and look over you and protect you.

May this be the last sorrow you have. We share your sorrow with you.
Basil Matta and his family

Notes

The letter is written on black-bordered mourning note paper. Its envelope, addressed: 'Jerusalem, Department of Public Works, To the virtuous Aziz Effendi Njem, with respect' also has a black border. Another black-bordered envelope, postmarked Roum on 7 August 1933, cannot be matched to its original letter.

The Biblical quotation is from 2 Corinthians 2:9.

SN 82

[Envelope:] Holy Jerusalem, To the honorable Khawaja Aziz Njem, with respect.

[Postmark:] Haifa, 10 August 33

To the dearest,

I write you these lines wishing you an everlasting life and safety, after I heard the news that burned my heart and made my eyes tear – the news of the passing away of someone who was dear to me and was virtuous. When I cried for him I didn't cry fearing for his fate as I know he will end up in the lap of Abraham and join the heavens but I cried because I didn't get the chance to say my last goodbye, I cried because I could imagine the amount of sorrow and grief you must be in after losing him, but I find solace in the fact that I knew a virtuous individual, who gave us someone as well-behaved and virtuous as you. To be

honest, your late father was very disciplined and virtuous; he is transformed from death to life now. May God protect you, your relatives and the whole family. Please make sure you inform your mother and all of Njem, Haddad, Mtran, Nama and Khabbaz families that I send my condolences, asking the lord for this to be the last tragedy in your family and bless you and protect your lives.

Your cousin Father Daniel Ibrahim Hajjar

SN 83

Acre 21/9/1933

To our dear son-in-law – may God protect him and his family, amen.

Greetings to you. We would love to know about your health and well-being, asking the lord that you and the family would be well and in full health. We also want you to know that we miss you, and seeing you. We would love to have some news about you and be in touch so we know that you are doing well.

We are writing you this letter to inform you that our mother arrived in our town safe and sound, in full health, and she had no problems on the way. She was very happy in this journey, as she enjoyed the car trip more than the train. Also, everyone including our brother, sisters and in-laws and their families and everyone are doing very well and they all send their greetings to you, to our sister, your children and the whole family, also to your neighbor the family of Abu Saad especially my friend Asa'ad, whom I haven't heard from for a while.

We will let you know before the arrival of my sister Mahasen to you by a telegraph and maybe I will bring her with me because I am coming to Jaffa on the 15th of November to conduct some business for the government. These are the updates from us.

Please keep us updated about you and may you all stay healthy and well.

Your Cousin

Wadie Nahhas

My address: [in Roman script] Wadie A. Nahas, Acre.

[Verso of the letter:]

I work in a vaporization company called I.C.I. [Imperial Chemical Industries] and I get a monthly fee of 10 pounds for 6 months, and after that I work for the government as an inspector of the oranges the come through the Jaffa port. I have 18 people working for me and I get 9 pounds for a period of 4 and 5 – and 6 months the longest. This is the work I do currently and also there is a 4 month contract between me and Iraq Company as a telegrapher, because I have learnt this art alone and passed the test, and to this date I haven't asked for it although I was pushing for it. If I don't ask for it till the end of the contract the company pays me 25 pounds compensation plus a telegrapher's certificate.

I have also been affiliated with another gas company called Standard Oil Co. of California to work as a telegrapher. So I will take any job opportunity right away. This latter company's headquarters are in Hijaz the land of Saud.

May God bring what's good for us all and may you stay well.

Your cousin,

Wadie

Notes

Chapter 1

1. I am grateful to Dan and Patty Baumgartner of Rogue River Books for this information.

Chapter 2

1. Wolseley also found those from Russia unfit for service: 16 September 1884 (Wolseley 1967: 17).
2. Several recent accounts may be recommended. I have found Asher 2005 and Snook 2013 particularly useful, while Benn 2009 provides an invaluable Canadian *voyageur* perspective and Green 2007 covers the wider history of the Islamic revival in the Sudan. Holt 1977 examines the Mahdist state in its own Islamic and Sudanese context, using archival material from Khartoum, rather than as a theatre for European adventure.
3. Ancestry.com. *UK, Military Campaign Medal and Award Rolls, 1793–1949* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Original data: WO 100/67. *War Office: Campaign Medal and Award Rolls 1793–1949 (General Series)*. The National Archives microfilm publication WO 100, 241 rolls. The National Archives of the UK, Kew, Surrey, England.
4. Captain James Henry Bowhill (1852–1923) and Lieutenant-Colonel Edwin Hughes (1832–1904), who was elected MP for Woolwich in November 1885, shortly after his return to England.
5. It would be pleasing to recognize Solomon Negima here, but his association with the Transport and Commissariat Corps suggests that it was not.
6. An English mangling of the Arabic ‘Abu Tuleih’; William McGonagall rhymed it with ‘flee’.
7. Charles Edmund Webber was Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster General for Telegraphs on the Nile Expedition.
8. Much of my information on Leach derives from the résumé of his life and career presented in the catalogue description for the auction of his medals by

Dix Noonan Webb in 2009. The listing states that the medals were sold with additional research materials, including a memoir of Leach by Major-General Sir Richard Tuck, which I have not been able to trace further. I thank David Erskine-Hill for his help with my enquiries.

Chapter 3

1. His brother, Arthur Perowne, was later Bishop of Bradford, and then of Worcester. Arthur's son, Stewart Perowne (1901–89), was a diplomat, explorer and historian, who spent much of his career in Palestine. He married the Middle Eastern traveller Freya Stark (1893–1993), in a *mariage blanc*.
2. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; NARA Series: *Passport Applications, 1795–1905*; Roll #: 421; Volume #: *Roll 421 – 16 May 1894–24 May 1894*.

Chapter 4

1. It would be interesting to know what Pickthall might have thought of Margaret Fountaine (1862–1940), who travelled the world with a (married) Syrian dragoman named Khalil Neimy for twenty-seven years. Miss Fountaine's diaries were unsealed in 1978 – as per her own instructions (ed. Cater 1980).
2. Miss Miller had lost her own 'beautiful white felt helmet which I had purchased at Thresher's in the Strand' when it blew off her head on the Suez Canal. 'I saw it gracefully floating away – pugaree, veil, and all – in the direction of the Red Sea' (Miller 1891: 136).
3. I have chosen to order my chapters thematically rather than chronologically.
4. At one point, Miss Miller commented upon the age and gender profile of pilgrim caravans they had been passing, and Solomon's answer may or may not be an ungallant joke at her expense. 'On my remarking one day to Solomon that I saw no young women among these pilgrims, he drily replied that only the old and ugly ones are allowed to undertake such a journey, and to face the hardships to which these old saints cheerfully submit!' (Miller 1891: 73–4).
5. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; NARA Series: *Emergency Passport Applications (Issued Abroad), 1877–1907*; Roll #: 44; Volume #: *Volume 084: England to Egypt*.

6. All excerpts from Bessie Tucker's letters are courtesy of Ann Marie Linnabery and the Niagara County Historical Society.
7. This is the tourist season of the winter of 1894–5, on which Solomon Negima guided the Fargo party.
8. His grandson, the Hollywood actor Alexander Kirkland, literally courted controversy when he married Gypsy Rose Lee, a marriage which floundered after three months because she had only married him to spite another lover.

Chapter 5

1. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; NARA Series: *Emergency Passport Applications (Issued Abroad), 1877–1907*; Roll #: 44; Volume #: *Volume 082: England*.
2. At one point, the two men were mistaken for father and son, which perhaps they were.

Chapter 6

1. *Index to Alien Case Files at the National Archives at Kansas City, compiled ca. 1975–2012, documenting the period 1944–2003*. Data file. Records of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS), Record Group 566. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. Registration number 21681526.
2. Year: 1921; Arrival: *New York, New York*; Microfilm Serial: T715, 1897–1957; Microfilm Roll: Roll 2997; Line: 3; Page Number: 230. *Passenger and Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1897–1957*. Microfilm Publication T715, 8892 rolls. NAI: 300346. Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service; National Archives at Washington, D.C.

Bibliography

Archival sources

The majority of the archival sources that I have used – census records, passport applications, passenger lists – were accessed via Ancestry.com. Although this is a commercial service, it is in partnership with a number of major public sector collections, such as the UK National Archives. I include below full details of the most important collections which I have used in my research. Press reports were accessed via Newspapers.com.

Travel and immigration

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